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The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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Vol. XXXIV

MAY, 1956

No. 4

Editor

EDWARD R. VOLLMAR

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A SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY: MANUEL BELGRANO

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I

Because of the integrity of his character and the respect he commanded, Manuel Belgrano (1770-1820) was the foremost of those intellectuals who spread the Liberal creed among the society on the River Plate and gave the Buenos Aires revolution of 1810 an ideology. But once the war of liberation from Spain began he was converted into a soldier and became a commander of armies in the field. As that of a precursor of the Argentine independence and of a leader in the actual struggle, Belgrano's history throws a twofold light on a vital sector of the South American revolution.

It was in Spain that he became a Liberal. We like to think of that country's temper as conservative and traditionalist; but when Belgrano was sent over from Buenos Aires to study law, the enlightened despotism of Charles III and the Liberalism of such ministers as Campomanes had left their mark. Among the educated class the doctrines of the Physiocrats and Adam Smith "were circulating with a rage."¹ No wonder that Belgrano, who came from a family that had no deep roots in the Spanish tradition² and who was very young when he studied in Spain (1786-94), preferred the new science of political economy to the old one of Spanish law.

While he was in Spain, the French Revolution broke out. Then, he writes,

the ideas of liberty, equality, security, and property took hold of me, and I saw nothing but tyrants in those who kept men everywhere from enjoying those rights that God and nature have granted them . . .³

He turned his thoughts toward his own country, eager to bring to it the policies from which the happiness of the people must flow. Except in the port city of Buenos Aires, where he grew up, he knew almost nothing of conditions in the vast Viceroyalty of La Plata. But to him, as one trained in the Physiocratic school, these agricultural lands appeared in urgent need of the program

¹ The phrase is Belgrano's. See his autobiographical sketch of 1814, Manuel Belgrano, *Autobiografía y memorias sobre la expedición al Paraguay y batalla de Tucumán* (Buenos Aires: 1942), p. 14.

² His father, a prosperous Italian merchant, had only recently (1759) moved from Europe to Buenos Aires where he took a Creole wife.

³ Manuel Belgrano, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

of the Economists. Taking it for granted that the progress of the colonies had to be worked out under the crown, he imagined that his opportunity had come when he was appointed by the king to be secretary of the newly created local board of trade (*Consulado*) in Buenos Aires (1794).

A vast field opened up before my eyes . . . I was filled with illusions and favorable visions of America.⁴

His hopes, like those of men of his generation all over the world, were still buoyed by the French Revolution.

As secretary he wrote elaborate reports on economic matters.⁵ At the core of them lies the Liberal doctrine that, as he said, self-interest is the only motive of the human heart and, well managed, it can bring about an infinite amount of useful things.⁶

Since the whole of economic life depends on the labor of the agricultural class, it is necessary that their self-interest be given a chance. They must own their land, cultivation of the soil must be unhampered, and they must buy and sell in an open market. As an incentive, he set up a scheme of rewards and prizes to be granted by the government to those who could show conspicuous agricultural improvements.⁷ In order to enlighten people concerning their self-interest, free educational institutions must be founded. Like Sarmiento afterwards, Belgrano was a fanatic for schools: primary schools, agricultural schools, a school of design for craftsmen, a business school, a nautical school.

Some of his suggestions, those for a nautical school and a school of design for instance, were given a try; but he soon clashed with that part of the merchant class who, mainly Spanish, wanted to maintain an exclusive trade with the mother country and whose representatives made up a majority in the *Consulado* itself. He soon found out, too, that the Spanish authorities were not prepared to liberalize the economy of the Viceroyalty as completely as he desired, and that the great expecta-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵ His economic writings have been collected in Manuel Belgrano, *Escritos económicos* (Buenos Aires: 1954).

⁶ Quoted from his second report (1796) in Mario Belgrano, *Historia de Belgrano* (2d. ed.; Buenos Aires: 1944), p. 30. This is the definitive, comparatively recent study of Belgrano.

⁷ Belgrano's economic thought, in the beginning under the influence of Campomanes, was later based on that of Quesnay, Galiani, Genovesi, and Adam Smith. See Mario Belgrano, *op. cit.*, p. 24, and Luis Roque Gondra, *Las ideas económicas de Manuel Belgrano* (Buenos Aires: 1927), p. 74.

tions with which he had started his work were unjustified. But he had gained a respected position in the society of Buenos Aires, and his ideas took hold.

His life began to take a new direction when, in 1806-07, war came to the Plata region as a consequence of the British attempt to wrest this territory from Spain, then allied with Napoleon. At first it seemed the British would succeed easily, although, with characteristic lack of respect, they employed only a few hundred troops. The regular Spanish forces put up little resistance, and the Viceroy (Sobremonte) withdrew into the interior. Belgrano writes:

I confess I was indignant and that I had never more regretted to be ignorant . . . of even the rudiments of military service.⁸

His lack of military experience prevented him from playing an effective role in the resistance organized by the patriotic citizens; but he soon acquired some knowledge of soldiering and was elected officer in one of the newly formed regiments of militia. It was this citizens' army that retook Buenos Aires, occupied by the invaders in 1806, and that, during a second attack on the city in 1807, captured the British forces taking part in the affair, including their general (Craufurd). Wild scenes of triumph among the population followed.

The point is that the impact of the British invasions upon the society on the River Plate was such that even a civilian like Belgrano, a scholarly, bookish man, then in his middle thirties, who had not the slightest military training, was driven to take up the challenge and to develop sufficient military skill to enable him to command, a few years later, patriot armies in the fight against Spain. A Liberal and essentially revolutionary ideology, ready to overthrow the Old Régime, was already in existence; Belgrano, more than anyone else, had introduced it and gained adherents to it. Through the formation of a militia and the appearance of leaders who were not appointed by Spain, and who had proved themselves superior to the Spanish officials in an emergency, a force was now organized that could back up the revolutionary ideology when the time came.

The Buenos Aires revolution of 1810, occurring at a moment when Napoleon had completely occupied Spain, and when the Spanish administrative machine had ceased to function, was, therefore, a smooth and bloodless matter. A group of prominent

⁸ Manuel Belgrano, *Autobiografía*, p. 18.

citizens, to whom Belgrano belonged, simply forced the Viceroy (Cisneros) to resign and, proclaiming their loyalty to Ferdinand VII, took over the government. Later, when it turned out that the Argentine revolution would not follow the neat and rational course charted for it by the Liberals, Belgrano looked back upon the happy time of the first government Junta of 1810. How orderly and well everything had then proceeded! "One can hardly believe our present state." And with typical honesty he adds:

How profoundly ignorant was I of the cruel conditions in the interior provinces! A veil covered my eyes. My desire for liberty and independence of my fatherland was so strong . . . that I almost forgot to think of the means to accomplish these aims.⁹

II

Shortly after the revolution, Belgrano was sent into Paraguay as commander of a small expeditionary force in order to secure this province of the Viceroyalty of La Plata for the Buenos Aires government (1810-11).¹⁰ The expectation was that the people of Paraguay, impatiently waiting to be liberated, would overthrow the loyalist governor (Velazco) as soon as the Buenos Aires troops showed themselves. Belgrano marched in, found the population almost uniformly unsympathetic, was roundly beaten, and marched back out again. His invasion, however, had produced enough political pressure in Paraguay to help the rise to power of Dr. Francia, the first of those caudillos who would make themselves master in one after another of the provinces of the former Viceroyalty once the bonds of the Spanish administration were broken. Belgrano and Dr. Francia had a leading part in the negotiations that followed; the future despot posed as a Liberal and democrat, though voicing doubts whether the Spanish American peoples were ripe for a liberal democracy. Francia gained what he wanted: independence for Paraguay; but Belgrano and his fellow emissary (Echeverría) did not quite realize what they had conceded. They were just beginning to learn about the real America.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ The military side of the Argentine struggle for independence is fully treated in Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la independencia argentina* (4 vols.; Buenos Aires: 1947). This great work, originally written in 1857-1887, is still an indispensable source of information on the Argentine revolution.

Most of the rest of Belgrano's military career (1812-19) was spent in the North West of the country (Tucumán, Jujuy, Salta), invaded by the Peruvian royalist armies by way of Upper Peru (Bolivia). Here he won two or three defensive victories which were important to the success of the revolution. But when he tried to reconquer Upper Peru, which had been an administrative unit of the La Plata Viceroyalty, he in turn was defeated. Bolivia, like the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) and Paraguay, was to go its own independent way. As the war in the North West developed into a stalemate, the defense of this region was gradually taken out of the hands of Belgrano and his regular troops by the local caudillo (Güemes) and his gaucho hordes. Güemes seems to have had a sincere liking for the general; nevertheless, in the end, the caudillo was the master and Belgrano had to be content with a supporting role. It was a strange war. For the loyalist armies, like those of Buenos Aires, were largely made up of American troops, commanded by American generals (Tristán, Goyeneche). At times officers and men changed from one side to the other. Matters were even more complicated when Spain adopted the constitution of 1812. Both parties were now fighting under the banner of Liberalism and, since the Argentinians did not formally declare their independence until 1816, both fought in the name of Ferdinand VII. This did not prevent either faction from acting with great and often cruel bitterness.

Wherever Belgrano went with his armies he tried to put his Liberal policies in practice. During the Paraguayan campaign, when the enemy forces were marching upon him about to destroy him, he issued regulations in the Guaraní language freeing the Mission Indians, redistributing the lands, laying out new towns, and establishing schools. In the West also he founded schools, for, as he wrote,

Education, education is what these people need in order to become virtuous and enlightened as they should.¹¹

As the over-all polity best suited to Spanish America as he saw it, he never ceased to desire a constitutional monarchy. There were various ways in which, at one time or another, Belgrano and his friends sought to make this form of government possible. When Napoleon took possession of Spain the regency of the colonies was offered to the Infanta Carlota, a sister of Ferdinand VII, who was then residing in Brasil with her husband

¹¹ Quoted in Mitre, *op. cit.* II, 202 f.

Don Juan of Portugal. But a limited monarchy found no favor with her. After the fall of Napoleon, when Spain could give full attention to the reconquest of the colonies, Belgrano and another prominent Argentine leader (Rivadavia) were sent to Europe (1814) to find a prince for America. By thus showing the legitimate intentions of the American rebels, they attempted to win the sympathies of the European powers. But to make the American crown acceptable to a foreign prince, a peaceful compromise would have to be arranged. After so many years of fighting neither the Spanish court nor the Americans were prepared to make the necessary concessions for such a solution.

The most interesting project, however, and one of which Belgrano was the main proponent, was to bring the old Inca dynasty back to the throne. At the time Belgrano suggested it (1816), it was clear that no other prince was available. Moreover, the revolution had by then produced that anarchy from which Argentina was rescued only a decade later by the strong hand of the dictator Rosas. The Inca monarchy was, therefore, a desperate stratagem to unite the country and to rouse the Andean Indians against their Peruvian rulers by an appeal to their national past. This Americanized version of a constitutional monarchy was, nevertheless, not as native as it appeared. For it was one of the conceits of some of the enlightened writers of eighteenth century France to describe an exotic, far-away country as being endowed with an ideal government. The Physiocrats found it in China; others idealized the Incas. The Abbé Raynal "made an apparently scientific exposition of their [the Incas'] laws, their customs, and their political organization, and deduced from them the fundamental rules for the eternally valid government of societies."¹² Belgrano was, therefore, reviving an idea implanted in him during the Liberal indoctrination that had shaped his mind. Had he had an understanding of the reality of history he could not have proposed to set up in America an English type government with a descendant of the Incas as constitutional ruler. Ridiculed by many, the chimerical scheme was never acted upon.

Belgrano, with his European manners and the phraseology of a French Encyclopedist, was always in danger of not being

¹² Mitre, *op. cit.*, III, 6. Raynal's book is *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770). The eighteenth century French writer Marmontel, in his play *Les Incas* (1778), also idealized that ancient race.

taken seriously by those who typified the real America, among them Dr. Francia and other caudillos. He in turn thought they were barbarians. As he saw his country sink ever deeper into lawlessness, his originally sweet-tempered nature took on a tinge of bitterness, and he became quite stern. That he was well aware of his shortcomings as a general and freely admitted them, made his position more difficult. But he tried to stem the tide of anarchy by driving his troops with a merciless discipline. Being a religious person in spite of his Liberalism, he forced upon his soldiers an almost monkish existence including frequent religious exercises. This did not endear him to them. Finally, the government called upon him to move against the caudillos of the East in order to put down the civil war (1819). He fell sick while marching eastward with his regiments. Hardly had he left them, when they rebelled and went over to the insurgents. Failure thus followed him to the very last. One year later he died.

The stubbornness with which he clung to ideas unsuited to the country in which he sought to carry them out would be ridiculous, were it not tragic. His character lacked that irrational element, that exalted kind of egotism, which are indispensable in Latin American political life, and which helped a Mitre, a Sarmiento, and other Liberals who came after Rosas. But Belgrano was noble. He had great courage, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his life for what he thought right. Argentinians are justly proud to have such a man among the founders of their country.

"IN SIGHT OF VICKSBURG"

Private Diary of a Northern War Correspondent

LEO M. KAISER, EDITOR
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO

In *The New York Times Book Review* of November 20, 1955, Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University remarked: "It is good to have . . . old and significant [Civil War] sources reprinted in new, annotated editions. . . . But their very plentitude raises a frightening question. Has Civil War scholarship at last mined out the field, and in the future will books about America's most studied war be *reprints* [italics mine] of sources?"

I should like to submit that there exists need and room for *printing* of sources—sources hitherto unpublished. Only recently, Sylvanus Cadwallader's *Three Years with Grant* issued forth from manuscript obscurity. Now, it cannot be hoped that many sources, still unpublished, will approach in significance the Cadwallader item. Yet there is a sizable number of Civil War writings which, in their private or personal nature, or in their informality, or in their very homeliness, provide contemporary comment of a sort which deserves inclusion in courses as adjunct reading. One of these writings, I feel, with such value is the Bodman Diary.

Albert Holmes Bodman, writer of this fragmentary diary, was a war correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* during the Vicksburg and Chattanooga campaigns.

There are certain details of his career that are significant in the light of various comments in the diary. Along with several other correspondents, Bodman narrowly escaped death when the *Queen of the West* was sunk in the Red River.¹ He seems to have been very much a McClernand man, not a Grant man.² While a fellow correspondent, Richard T. Colburn of the *New York World*, languished in a Confederate prison at Vicksburg, Bodman managed, with the cooperation of General M. D. Leggett, to be one of the very first on the Union side to enter the city.³ At Chattanooga, in October, 1863, he was rebuked for security

¹ Cf. J. Cutler Andrews, *The North Reports the Civil War*, Pittsburgh 1955, 386-387.

² Bernard A. Weisberger, *Reporters for the Union*, Boston 1953, 235-236.

³ Andrews, *op. cit.*, 401.

violations.⁴ A rumor circulated that Bodman after a few months of arduous field service bought a house in Chicago for \$22,000 cash.⁵

After his stint as a war correspondent, Bodman became city editor of the *Tribune* for a short time. From 1865 to 1869 he served two terms as city clerk of Chicago during the Rice administration. He died in Chicago, October 1, 1885, at the age of fifty-nine.

In the margin of the first page of the diary is the notation, "This Ms Diary, written by Mr. A. H. Bodman, Corres. of the Chicago *Tribune*, was handed to me in prison by Mr. B., this 10th day of June, 1863. W. B." I have not been able to determine the circumstances referred to by the cryptic comment.

The diary, written on sewed paper gatherings, is obviously fragmentary, the writing proceeding to the bottom of the last remaining sheet.

Explanatory comment by the present editor is enclosed in square brackets; words inadvertently omitted by Bodman have been enclosed in pointed brackets. Unorthodox spellings have been retained.

Thanks are due the Chicago Historical Society for generous permission to publish this diary. Miss Margaret Scriven, Librarian, and her staff rendered numerous courtesies which I am happy here to acknowledge.

IN SIGHT OF VICKSBURG

Feb. 15, 1863

I have today received a letter from W. Barry, Esq., Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, in which he suggests the propriety of keeping a private diary, in which to record some of the episodes of the great rebellion which have transpired under my own personal observation. He thinks such a record would be valuable in a historical point of view. I regret that I did not do this a year ago, but it is too late now to remedy the delinquency. It is only left me from this time to record what occurs, beginning with my account of the loss of the *Queen of the West*, cut from the files of the *Tribune*.

[Pasted in is Bodman's story from the *Tribune*, date-lined February 15 and 21, 1863.]

⁴ Weisberger, *op. cit.*, 118.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 188.

Feb. 23rd

I left for Memphis to ensure the safe delivery of my dispatches. At Greenville [Miss.], Feb. 24th, we learned that a portion of Gen. [S. G.] Burbridge's Brigade were at that moment engaged with the Confederate forces under Col. [T. B.] Ferguson. It is at present impossible to tell how the engagement will terminate. Officers of the gun boat *Switzerland* say that Major Montgomery of the 6th Mo. Cavalry is killed.

Feb. 26th

Arrived in Memphis and sent a man through to Cairo with letters.

Feb. 28th

By invitation made my head quarters with Gen. C. S. Hamilton, who at present commands the left wing of the 16th Army Corps. A portion of his staff is at LaGrange [Tenn.], but the rest retain the quarters and office at Memphis. They do this under the impression that the President will date Gen. Hamilton's commission so that he will rank Gen. [S. A.] Hurlbut. If the President consulted the wants of the service rather than the claims of politicians, he would do so without delay. Gen. Hamilton is an officer of great ability, and merits all the consideration the Government can bestow. Of Gen. Hurlbut's military abilities I know nothing. He is unquestionably, personally, a officer, but his habits are such as wholly unfit him to occupy a prominent official position, much less that of commandant of a department like West Tennessee, where the many conflicting interests and the semi-secession character of the inhabitants require a rare combination of executive talent and *sober* judgment. Gen. Hurlbut is seldom sober. I have called upon him and found him so grossly intoxicated that he was not able to exhibit the ordinary amenities of conversation prevailing among gentlemen. Of course, I did not repeat the visit.

March 1st

I have just seen the *Tribune* of the 27th Feb. wherein I find displayed with clearness and correctness all the information I am possessed of relative to the projected movements upon Vicksburg by way of Yazoo Pass, Moon Lake, the Cold Water, Tallahatchie, Yallabusha, and Yazoo, and the canal project at Lake Providence [La.], whereby, if successful, Vicksburg is to be flanked. The party who is guilty of this breach of confidence is R. T. Colburn of the *N. Y. World*, who from the Gayoso House [Memphis], has for the past few weeks, written flaming letters

"from Young's Point." That this breach of official confidence will be severely visited upon Mr. Colburn, I make no doubt. All of the journalists at the fleet have been familiar with the fears of our generals, but from considerations of public good, have foreborne to speak of them. I understand orders have been issued for his arrest, whenever he shall visit the Department again.

March 3rd

I have today written to the *Tribune* of the hospitals in Memphis. The information, which was the foundation of my remarks and strictures, was derived from Mrs. A. P. Harvey, the widow of ex-Gov. Harvey of Wisconsin, who was drowned while on a mission of mercy at Savannah soon after the battle of Shiloh. The good work commenced by her husband is now being carried out by Mrs. H. She is an angel of mercy flitting through the wards of the hospitals and shedding a halo of peace and joy around the bedsides of the sick and dying. There are many, now well and hearty, then in pain and just within the shadow of death, who date their release from the grip of the cold monster to her beatified presence and her words of comfort and hope. I have seen a hundred men raised from the depths of despair to the heights of exaltation almost by her passage along the wards. She talks to them of home and the dear ones far away, she furnishes them with delicacies, she writes to fond father or doting mother, she procures discharges and furloughs, and thus preserves to the government hundreds who otherwise would people the noisome grave. Mrs. H. is a modest woman and would dislike to hear her praises sounded in the newspapers, or I would speak of her in the *Tribune*. She is doing an immensity of good, as is also that other noble charity, the Sanitary Commission. God bless them both! I have also indulged in strictures as to the conduct of Dr. Jackson, who has charge of the Overton Hospital. Dr. J. is a vain, weak, little man, without the mental or scientific acquirements requisite for the management of such an institution. His integrity and moral character is beyond reproach, but he is too frothy, lacks substance, and should be removed to a station less responsible. As an evidence of his peculiarity, I may mention that he has covered the halls with fine matting and whitewashed the wards, but has totally neglected the water-closets and sewerage. He ornaments the outside of the vase with beautiful paintings while within are dead men's bones and all kinds of uncleanness. I need only refer to the shocking

mutilation of the remains of Adjutant Bacon of the 72nd Illinois Regiment by rats, to show his disregard of the lesser and inner workings of the institution. In this connection, as showing the utter heartlessness of some of our surgeons, I mention a remark made by Dr. Irwin, at present Grant's medical director at Memphis. A friend was talking with him and others of the hospital conveniences, and lamenting the number of deaths, when he said, "Let them die; it costs less to bury them than to cure them." This unfeeling remark needs no comment.

Gen. [I. F.] Quimby's Division left for Lake Providence today. I had intended to go below on the *Superior*, but when I learned it was the General's boat, I was forced to remain behind. The personal relations existing between us will not allow me to place myself under obligations to him. If the private life of the generals in this army could be written, the whole country would stand aghast. Gen. Quimby before the rebellion, after his resignation from the army was accepted, became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the University of Rochester, N. Y. He was among the first Brigadiers created, I am told, at the request of Gen. Grant, whose class mate he was at West Point. From a Christian gentleman, he has degenerated into a drunkard, gambler, and debauchee. He frequents pot houses, faro banks, and even worse places, so I am reliably informed. Is it wonderful that we are badly served when such men are selected as leaders? Of his military qualifications I know nothing, but his moral qualifications would not fit him to act as bottle holder to a pair of pugilists. Gen. [J. B.] McPherson, personally a gentleman, is also, although not to the same degree, addicted to these same disreputable habits.

March 12

Several days ago I left Memphis on the *Minnehaha* after delays and trouble which seemed interminable. At last we were off, but not before we had lost two of our *demimonde* passengers and a huge trunk in their possession, which a sharp eyed revenue officer had discovered was filled with cavalry boots. The fair southern dames with their attendant cavalier, who for the nonce was attired in the castoff clothing of a Federal lieutenant, looked remarkably crestfallen as they were marched off the boat, each flanked by a Federal soldier with bayonets.

We arrived at Helena [Ark.] to learn that our boat was placed under arrest by the Board of Trade there, for presuming to

leave Memphis without proper clearance. This was a pleasant prospect for us. However, after official fumigation and search of pockets and baggage, we were allowed to proceed, after a detention of twenty-four hours. Among the passengers on the steamer was Andrew Jackson Donelson, the adopted son of Andrew Jackson. Major Donelson was once a candidate for the Vice-Presidency and is of the Fillmore style of politics. He is a gentleman, scarcely fifty-five, intelligent and homely, and believes most devoutly that Andrew Jackson Donelson can devise a plan to relieve us of our present difficulties. His continual theme is the "Constitution as it is and the Union as it was." The Major gave me many interesting items of information of the early history of the Mississippi Valley, and of his connection therewith, which I am sorry to say I have entirely forgotten.

At the point just below Helena we met the Division of Gen. Quimby. While proceeding to Lake Providence they were met by a messenger from Grant with instructions to enter Yazoo Pass and join the expedition under Gen. [L. F.] Ross, already in the Tallahatchie. The boats are too large to enter the Pass, and the troops must disembark and await the arrival of smaller boats before they can obey the order.

At the mouth of White and Arkansas Rivers, where we called, we were told by officers on the gun boats, that we have possession of Yazoo City [Miss.]. I do not altogether believe it, but the naval officers do most devoutly. If this is true, movements will be made at once from the lower end of the Yazoo River.

Opposite Greenville we were ordered to stop by the gun boat stationed there, and then first learned of the detail of our forces under Gen. Burbridge. Officers and men, it is said, did not fulfil public expectations. A flag of truce was stationed on the levee borne by four men from Col. Ferguson's command, six miles in the interior. The occasion of it was an alleged violation of a previous flag by one of our gun boats.

I found everything unchanged at Young's Point, except as to the Mississippi. It had risen fearfully and now covered the space between the river bank and the levee. This as yet protects the soldiers, but how long it will do so, is of course doubtful. The dredges are at work in the canal, but a month must elapse before the work is finished, and then, I fear, warm weather and the sickness incident thereto, will compell us to suspend operations. The canal at Lake Providence is finished, and it only requires two hours labor to marry waters of the Mississippi with the

sources of the Ouchita [Ouachita] and Black. Our authorities hesitate to strike the blow. They justly fear they will raise a spirit they cannot control. The Confederate steamer *Webb* is reported disabled and sunk near Warrenton.

March 13th

The weather is delightful. I am stationed on the stern of the steamer *Westmoreland* by an open window, and as I write, the air comes into the aperture laden with aromatic odors from the green leaves around me. It is hardly possible to believe that this climate, so fresh and grateful in the early spring, will so soon be laden with the seeds of death when the summer comes. The live oaks lift their budding branches to the skies, covered from top to base with the wierd-like Spanish moss hanging in long pendants to the ground. It is suggestive of graveyards and weeping willows. Alas! how many tears will be shed, and how like a vast cemetery will this point become if the great battle be fought here. The thoughts of friends at home will involuntarily turn towards this point if no battle be fought, for here lie the beds of a great multitude, stricken down by disease, scarcely less fatal and deadly in its effects than the whistling bullet, and the crack and explosion of dreadful shell.

Yesterday, the dam constructed across the mouth of the canal gave way, and the torrent rushed madly through the channel. The *emboucher* is not yet opened, and the waters have torn out the levees constructed along its bank, and seeks an exit in the swamp to the left. The dredges and a large force of men are at work closing up the breaks, and soon the excavation will proceed as before.

Night before last, while sitting in the after cabin, we heard an alarm bell on the ram *Monarch*, moored to the bank a hundred rods below us, followed by the boatswain's whistle, piping all hands to quarters. Just at the same moment, we heard a sharp yell, and all was silent as the grave. We yesterday learned the occasion of the alarm. It appears that the rebels have digging propensities as well as we, but they choose to exercise them on our ground. Twenty-five soldiers were sent over the river in skiffs and dugouts, and vigorously attacked the levee below the canal, intending to let in the water upon us and drown us out. Fortunately, we had vigilant pickets there, and the enemy were discovered and captured before they had time to accomplish much damage. Every man of them was taken prisoner, and is

now on his way with the other prisoners to some prison station in the north.

These ditch digging plans of our generals, I frankly confess, have no attractions for me. I have more faith in the efficacy of shot and shell than in the spade and faith. If prayers and fasting would save a nation, the Southern Confederacy would have been elevated to the highest niche among the nations long before this! It may be that the reason this means of salvation is not more efficacious is that faith is not accompanied by appropriate works.

Our soldiers are in the daily habit of visiting the point of land directly opposite the landing at Vicksburg, and holding conversations with the soldiers and citizens. The river is here but five or six hundred yards wide, and they manage to converse with little difficulty. Yesterday, some of the 8th Missouri Regiment visited the Point and talked with the people as follows: "Where's the *Indianola*?" "Gone to hell, where you'll go if you don't leave this latitude!" "When are you going to surrender Vicksburg?" "Never, by God!" "What do you think of the dummy [gun boat]?" "Big thing!" The stock of questions on our side was soon exhausted, and the enemy became inquisitive. "What regiment do you belong to?" "Eighth Missouri." "Clear out! we've got no chickens here!" "What's your opinion of canals?" "Go to hell," replied the Federal and sullenly retired.

Last evening a bright signal light was displayed in Vicksburg from the vicinity of the rail road depot. We were on the *Qui vive* to learn the occasion of it, but as yet we are profoundly in the dark.

Mar. 14th

We have learned the occasion of the bright light seen last evening in the vicinity of the rail road depot. On the plateau a little to the right of the depot, the rebels have erected a Drummond light, which at intervals during the night they turn upon the river, to discover if strange craft are navigating the waters. My informant was paddling his canoe just below the mouth of the canal, when all at once the full force of the light was turned upon him, and immediately after, a rifled shot came hissing over the waters, dropping in alarming proximity to his little craft.

I have just learned that Capt. Ostrander and the clerk of the Stmr. *Minnehaha*, upon which I took passage from Memphis, have been sent to Alton during the war, for landing Major Andrew Jackson Donelson and his friends at a plantation above

Carson's Landing contrary to orders. His instructions were *not* to land at any point not protected by Federal gun boats. This is right. A captain has no right to endanger the safety of his boat, and the lives of his men, by exposing them to capture by guerillas. The *Minnehaha* will doubtless be declared confiscate.

The Copperheads are at their dirty work in this army. One Brown, a member of the Illinois State Legislature, arrived a few days since, it is said, with a flase [*sic*] bottom in his trunk, filled with incendiary documents to be distributed among the soldiers, with the view to create dissatisfaction among them, as if the poor boys, surrounded by sickness and death, had not enough to discourage them already. He is under surveillance, and evidence has already accumulated sufficient to convict him. I should not be surprised to learn that he too shall be forced to journey Alton-ward.

I have just learned that the bulk of this army—all, with the exception of Sherman's Army Corps—have been ordered into Yazoo Pass. They say the Lake Providence canal project is abandoned, and there are strong indications that the Vicksburg Cut-off may be abandoned also. The fact is, Vicksburg, like the Kingdom of Heaven, must be taken by force and violence. I have made my arrangements to secure letters from this point if anything important occurs, and, in company with several journalists, shall leave for Yazoo Pass in a day or two.

I cannot help giving my testimony here to the immense good accomplished by the Western Sanitary Commission. They have a steamer here loaded to the guards with supplies which they freely distribute to hospitals and surgeons without money and without price. Many a poor soldier has reason to bless the Western Sanitary Commission. Major [T. S.] Bowers told me this morning that sometime during this night, barrells of powder would be placed in the levee at Lake Providence, and the Mississippi turned in upon the country. All intention of seeking an outlet into Red River by the "Lake Providence route" is abandoned. It is thought, however, that vast damage can be occasioned to that portion of Louisiana, and that the water will prevent the appearance of guerillas upon the banks to fire upon our steamers. It looks as if this method of conducting war was a little inhuman, being directed against, or rather operating against women and children. If we accept the doctrine of Jefferson, however, that war is or should be the aggregation of private

injuries, and that those conduct war most successfully who inflict the greatest private and personal injury, and none are more strenuous in the enunciation of this doctrine than our enemies, none should complain. The effect of this turning of the waters will be to make a desert of the most flourishing region of Louisiana.

I leave tomorrow for Lake Providence and Yazoo Pass. The weather is delightful today as heretofore.

March 15

I arrived at Lake Providence this evening to find a small fleet of boats with troops ready embarked, just on the point of leaving for Yazoo Pass. I introduced myself to Gen. [John A.] Logan, and received his permission to accompany him on the steamer *Superior*. This is my first contact with Gen. Logan. He is a dark featured man, of medium height, approachable, good natured, and affable, a thorough soldier, and, despite his personal habits, one of the best officers in this western army. Unlike Gen. Hurlbut, he never allows himself to be so grossly intoxicated that he cannot do his duty thoroughly. I was amused last evening at several anecdotes related of Gen. Hurlbut. We were speaking of his personal bravery. One of Gen. Logan's staff related the following. Gen. H. was riding over the field—on the Hatchie [River, Tenn.]—chock full—after the battle, when he saw a wagonner cruelly beating his mules. The General was angry and said, "You damned son of a bitch, stop that!" The wagonner replied, "Gen. Hurlbut, I allow no man to call me a son of a bitch, and if it were not for your major-general's shoulder straps, you'd get the dam'dest licking a major-general ever had!" The General was game, and just full enough to be destitute of self respect, and reaching either hand to his shoulders, stripped his straps and trampled them under his feet. The wagonner turned to, and pummelled the Major-General until he was glad to cry "enough."

At another time, he was riding on his trotting stallion in the neighborhood of LaGrange, and saw a private in a cavalry regiment stationed there, training his horse as if for a race. "Hullo! there," said the General, "Right smart chunk of a horse. But he can't run." The soldier thought he could beat any horse in the army, and said so. "Pooh!" said the General, "I'll bet my horse against yours, that he'll beat yours." "Done," said the soldier. General and private stripped themselves to their shirts and

pantaloon, bound silk handkerchiefs about their heads, and ran their John Gilpin race. The General was outstripped, but very gracefully yielded his charger to the soldier, who rides it yet. The horse bears his burden as proudly as if a major-general bestrode him.

Lake Providence Village is, or rather was, a quiet little hamlet, embowered in groves of magnolias and evergreens, and once boasted a paper, and other evidences of civilization. The irruptions of Federal "Goths and Vandals" have caused all the better class of inhabitants to leave and abandon all to the intruders. Three families only of this flourishing village remain. The rest have sought a home in the interior. Lake Providence is a beautiful sheet of water, ten or twelve miles long, and from one half to a mile wide. Its peculiar form can be seen by a glance at a map. Some time since, the levee at Grand Lake, ten miles north, gave way, and the water began to overflow the country. Gen. [John] McArthur at first thought to close the crevasse, but finding it unpracticable, Col. Bissel of the Engineer Regiment, enlarged it, so that now the water pours in upon the country in an uninterrupted flow. It was this body of water flowing into Bayou Macon and Bayou Baxter, which has compelled us to abandon all hope of passing to Red River from Lake Providence. The gnarled and ragged cypress trees in Bayou Macon were hardly half removed when the back water compelled the abandonment of the attempt to cut them off below the surface of the water. This evening there are rumors that another route has been discovered, which has not the same physical difficulties to be overcome. Matters have progressed so far, however, that I presume the whole matter has been indefinitely postponed. Gen. McArthur informs me that tomorrow night he shall let in the water, unless his present orders are countermanded. The river is now two feet higher than the highest point in the village, and the town will be destroyed inevitably. Today, Gen. Grant sent by the *Tatum* a special messenger with dispatches for Gen. McPherson which may put a new phase upon the position of affairs here.

March 16

Contrary to our expectations we are still at Lake Providence. There are no new developments this morning, so far as I can learn, and there are rumors this morning, possibly and probably ill-founded, that after all we may not go to Yazoo Pass. But *Nous Verrons*. I have just visited Gen. McArthur and learn from him that he will not blow up the levee tonight as he anticipated.

He tells me another route has been discovered to Bayou Tensas, which may cause the departure of the fleet with Gen. Logan's division to be delayed. It seems to me there is abundant necessity for haste in our movements, whatever may be determined upon. If any attempt is made to flank Vicksburg either by way of Yazoo Pass or Lake Providence, it must culminate within thirty days, or the water will so subside that we can accomplish nothing. Troops are embarked and only waiting orders to move.

Cotton speculators are growling terribly here. Gen. Grant's late stringent orders interfere with their endeavors to secure a portion of the flocculent fibre, and Government, upon some pretext or other, has seized the most of it in this neighborhood. There is a large quantity unpicked, which Gen. McPherson has sold to speculators, they agreeing to pick, gin, and bale it for one-half. Government furnishes contrabands, the contractors, feeding, clothing, and paying them for their labor at the rate of a dollar a hundred for the fibre in the seed. The negroes make from three to six dollars a day in this way. The country is full of cotton, several large planters having as many as five hundred to a thousand bales each.

I am told there is the usual amount of stealing going on in this connection. Well known rebel citizens take the oath of allegiance, get some officer to certify to their loyalty, and thus fortified, seek an audience with Gen. Grant, request and obtain permission to ship their cotton north on *private account*, and seek a market. There are those among the camp followers in the wake of any army, whose mission is gain and plunder, uncharitable enough to say that officers from lieutenants up, receive respectable sums as the price of their complaisance. I do not know that this is true, but I strongly suspect it.

The *David Tatum* is now loading with government cotton for Young's Point, to be used, it is said, to place around the boilers of steamers intending to run the Confederate batteries at Vicksburg. This looks as if work was intended there.

The health of this portion of the army is excellent. Gen. Logan's Division, the largest in the army, has but sixty-four hospital cases. I believe this improvement in its sanitary condition is not confined to Lake Providence. *Evening*. Contrary to my impression as recorded above, the authorities have concluded to let in the water. Gangs of laborers have been digging all day long, and just at sundown the marriage of the Mississippi and

Lake Providence was consummated. An immense volume of water is now rushing through the crevasse, and threatening to submerge friend and foe before morning. It is possible that some time tomorrow the channel may be wide enough and deep enough to allow some of the transports to enter Lake Providence.

There was a bit of a fight yesterday at Shirt Tail Bend, forty miles north of here, between a foraging party and a small band of rebels. We know nothing of the result, except that the boat bringing the intelligence brought an urgent demand for reinforcements, and also a few Confederate prisoners. Two regiments will be sent up this evening to their assistance.

March 17th

There are exciting rumors current here this morning. The pilot of the *Pembina* which arrived late last night from Vicksburg brings the intelligence that the enemy have evacuated Haines' Bluff, some eight or ten miles up the Yazoo River. This is too good news to be true. He says that day before yesterday the gun boats went up the river to attack the position, and failing to get any response, sent a boat ashore, and there first learned the enemy had departed, leaving no sign behind them. What has induced this hasty abandonment of Haines' Bluff is left wholly to conjecture. It is probably true that the Federal forces are at Yazoo City, but there would still be sixty miles of difficult navigation between the two points. Besides, there are 39 steamers in the river and up the Sunflower which must inevitably fall into our hands or fall a prey to fire. Haines' Bluff is the key to Vicksburg, and if it is evacuated, I am forced to look upon it as preliminary to the evacuation of Vicksburg itself. A very few hours at most will solve the question. If the information is correct, all the troops here will doubtless be ordered up the Yazoo. The report is that the Eighth Missouri Regiment has been withdrawn from Young's Point and sent to garrison the fort. This at least must be incorrect. Gen. Grant would never send four hundred men to hold this important stronghold, where unless they were strongly protected by gun boats, they would be in momentary danger of capture.

The water rushes through the break in the levee like the tail of a mill race. Already a stream seventy feet wide is tearing through, rolling and tumbling like a miniature Niagara. It is impossible to indicate the end. How this water, rolling over their well cultivated plantations and lifting from their foundations their splendid mansions, must astonish the Rip Van Winkle's

who live in the interior! This morning a skiff, in which were four or five sailors, went through the crevasse, creating as much excitement as if a ship should pass over the falls at Niagara. The little craft, as soon as she entered the aperture, where the current boils and rages the fiercest, reeled like a drunken man, and we expected every moment to see her engulfed in the treacherous waters. For two hundred feet she shot like an arrow on the surface, first on the crest of the billow, then out of sight in the yawning depths below, until like a spaniel emerging from the water, she shook herself and sought a safe haven in the overflow below. It was an interesting sight, not unmixed with a sort of fear that what was intended for a broad farce might become a sad tragedy. The spectators testified their delight by loud and repeated cheers when the passage was made in safety.

March 18th

Yesterday afternoon, in company with Gen. McArthur and the new Generals [M. M.] Crocker and Deitzler, I made the circuit of Lake Providence. It is a beautiful sheet of water, possessed of that rare, quiet, pastoral beauty which is the peculiar feature of lakes to the north, like Lake Geneva in Wisconsin. It is not surprising that wealthy planters have selected its banks as the site of their dwellings. Here, surrounded by groves of magnolia and evergreens, and attended by troops of servants and personal attendants, the wealthy aristocrat passes his life in splendor and dreamy idleness.

The first plantation we visited is the one belonging to Gen. [Edward] Sparrow, member of the Confederate Congress, now occupied by Gen. Crocker of Iowa. The house is a large wooden structure with lofty verandahs surrounding the front and ends, not pretentious in style, but very pleasant. The lawn in front contains a dozen acres thickly studded with shrubbery and glistening with pine and the magnificent magnolia. Nicely gravelled walks lead from the mansion to the Lake, where a light canoe lies moored to a stake just at the water's edge. The garden is a marvel of beauty, and even now, neglected as it is, its sacred precincts invaded by unhallowed feet, tree and shrub and vine are covered with flowers, rivalling the rainbow in their infinite variety of shade and color. The beautiful flowers, the smooth shaved lawn, the broad leaved magnolia, the soldiers within white tents glistening in the sunshine, and above all the silver lake, calm and unruffled as a mirror sleeping in quiet beauty before us

as we ploughed the virgin waters, formed a picture whose circlet should be a wreath of diamonds. Leaving Sparrow's Plantation, we swung out again into the stream, and for several miles steamed along the borders of the lake, here fringed with cypress trees, clothed from top to base with wierd and dismal Spanish moss. The effect of this drooping parasite, pendant in long, waving folds from trunk and branches, is depressing to the last degree. It is suggestive of funerals and weeping willows. It is the embodiment of vegetable woe. No party, however joyous, can approach it, that a mysterious influence does not appear to emanate from its ghastly folds, which throws a damp upon their spirits, and compels their silence until the unsightly object is passed. Those who have seen no mosses more pretentious than the green fungi growing on trees and rocks in northern exposures, can form no adequate idea of the wonderfully exuberant growth of the Tissandria. Consumption is not more fatal to the life of man, than is this parasite to the life of trees. Once let it fix its iron grasp upon its stem and branches, and the proudest monarch of the forest becomes a dead and worthless trunk. The grey, hair-like fibre hangs in folds a yard long from every twig, the stouter end uppermost, resembling for all the world an aggregation of dishevelled locks. The wind sighs and moans through the pendants with that peculiar mournful sound one hears from a telegraph wire during a gale of wind.

The eastern shore of the lake is bordered by plantations, now deserted. Of course, we did not visit them. Just as we rounded to, to coast the western slope, on the curve of the beautiful sheet, with an outview of its entire length and breadth, lies the plantation of Widow Blackman. As the steamer with its shrill scream and angry puff gave warning of our approach, awakening strange echoes in those placid waters and frightening buffalo and catfish from their propriety, the occupants of the plantation, white and black, came out upon the shore to gaze at us. Now and then a grinning darkey would wave a dingy wipe, which but for its suspicious color might be taken for a white handkerchief, the token of peace and amity, but from the scarcely whiter but more honored race, we received no sign of welcome. Mrs. B. and family are intensely secession in their sentiments, and naturally hate us most cordially. This does not prevent them from receiving two hundred rations for thirty-six persons once a week from the authorities, under the plea of "extreme destitution." It has occurred to me that this plan of feeding rebels is radically wrong.

We have an immense army of our own to feed, and as we cannot be entirely oblivious to the claims of common humanity, and must keep women and children from starving, so long as they are with us, it seems to me, to avoid the enormous expense, they should be sent under a flag of truce outside the lines. The United States, great as are its resources, cannot feed all the genteel paupers of the Southern Confederacy.

On the western shore of the lake, is a bayou or narrow channel, called Bayou Baxter, bordered with cypress, leading by a circuitous route to Bayou Macon, and a little farther south, another leading to Bayou Tensas. The latter is the source of Tensas River, the former with Bayou Macon and Lake Providence are the sources of Black River. It has been deemed important for the success of the expedition from this point, that Bayou Macon should be accessible. Both the other Bayous have been explored, and insupportable physical difficulties discovered. Within a day or two, however, another route has been mentioned which is being looked after. If found feasible, the projected expeditions in other directions may be postponed. I am not able to speak geographically or topographically of Bayou Macon, except generally that it lies somewhere in the interior, that it is several miles in extent, bordered by a magnificent planting country, traversed occasionally by river steamers, fortified in its angles by forts of cotton, supporting a county rich in horses, cotton, and negroes, and defended by rebel cavalry. An exploring expedition was projected this morning, but for some reason abandoned, and I could not avail myself of the invitation kindly extended by Gen. McPherson and others to visit the *terra incognita*. From a break in the levee at Grand Lake, the steamer *Sam Young* has floated over plantations and through forest, until she has reached the entrance to Bayou Macon. We intended to join her by another route, and together seek out new worlds to conquer.

Govey Hood owns a plantation south of the mouth of Bayou Tensas. When I discover a first class villain, whether standing brazen faced in all his naked deformity, or clothed in fine linen and adorned with shoulder straps, I am inclined to lash him. Now whether Mr. Hood is one or both of these will be seen as the narrative progresses.

Govey Hood once lived in Kentucky, where he now owns a large property which, with what he has in Louisiana, is worth a half million dollars. I do not know what is the standard of

morality in Louisiana, but his neighbors speak of it as a not very flagrant offence against good order that he lives with a yellow woman whom he owns—a slave—as his wife. By this woman he has begotten daughters fair to look upon, but with the taint of serfdom, which all the water in the Mississippi cannot eradicate. Here, as in other Southern states, the child follows the condition of its mother. If they are as beautiful as Venus and as wise as Minerva, so they are tainted with the condition of bondage, they are the creatures of a brutal owner's caprice and lust. I dare not whisper the apparently trustworthy reports which reach me of the connection said to exist between himself and his daughter, but in the north we call it incest. Here it is called a milder name—commerce with slaves. At the north we confine such men behind iron gratings. Here, so he is rich and owns a hundred niggers, he passes for a gentleman and represents the parish in the Legislature.

At dark we returned, stopping for a moment at Seller's Plantation, where Gen. McPherson has established his head quarters. We could forgive the shock to our susceptibilities occasioned by the sight of a hundred naked men bathing in the waters of the calm lake when we saw their evident enjoyment of the exercise, and reflected that it brought health to them. The flood from the crevasse is setting back in such volume that a change of location is deemed necessary, and I learn that the General moves to town tomorrow. The *Superior* is the head quarters of Gen. Logan, one of the best, and one of the best abused officers in the service. With Gen. Logan's political opinions I have nothing to do, but that he is a thoroughly honest man, and every inch a soldier, I firmly believe. I wish I could say as much of all other officers in the army. I hope to hear of his confirmation as Major-General.

I mention the steamer *Superior* for the sake of making honorable mention of Capt. Dexter, the master. He is better known in connection with the Ohio River trade, where he commanded the steamer *Charley Bowen*, running between Evansville and Cairo. When the rebels were on the rampage at Paducah, some of the more prominent waited upon him, as the *Bowen* came along the wharf boat, with the Union flag fluttering from her peak, and swore if he persisted in sailing under "that rag," a military company would tear it down. Capt. Dexter, with an air all his own, exclaimed, "Get off my boat, you sneaking cusses. I shall float the stars and stripes so long as I command the *Bowen*. If you attempt to remove it, all I've got to say is, there'll be a

dammed big funeral!" Next day the *Bowen* returned proudly, bearing the flag aloft as usual, and it *was not disturbed*. The *Superior* is an excellent boat, pleasantly and comfortably appointed, and deservedly popular. The break in the levee at Providence is constantly widening and the back country is fast filling up. Last night three houses were lifted from their foundations and floated into Lake Providence. The damage to the country must be incalculable. The planters, however, have mostly removed their valuable moveable property, horses, mules, cattle, negroes, *et id omne genus*, to the higher ground the other side of Bayou Macon, where the country is safe from overflow. It may reach them even there, unless the Mississippi falls quickly.

Mar. 19th

Nothing of interest today.

Mar. 20th

We learn by a messenger from below that McPherson's Army Corps is to go to Eagle Bend, and move up the Yazoo with a view of flanking Haines' Bluff. I do not put much faith in the report.

A most singular sight is witnessed any day in the grave yard at Lake Providence. It is the face of a woman in a metallic coffin, buried for eighteen years and recently exhumed. The bricks forming the tomb have fallen in, and the curious can see through the glass, the face in a state of decay. It is a ghastly sight and one that the authorities should remove quickly.

Mar. 20

Nothing of importance.

Mar. 21

Quite an excitement was occasioned today by the capsizing of a boat in the canal. Five men belonging to the steamer *Niagara* were rowing across the mouth of the crevasse, when they were drawn into the vortex and thrown into the angry waters, a hundred feet from the entrance. Ropes and boats were quickly put in requisition and the whole recovered with no other damage than a thorough wetting.

March 22

Not so fortunate were two poor fellows rowing against the current from Lake Providence today. The boat was unskillfully managed, and somehow got into an eddy in which they lost control of the little craft. A wave more formidable than its predecessor struck the bow, and boat and occupants disappeared

from mortal vision. The bodies of the poor soldiers are now sleeping calmly on the bottom of Lake Providence. *Requiescant in pace.* Their names are Adolphus Swendt, 1st Mo. Battery, and Wm. W. Turner, Co. G., 11th Ill. Cavalry. The former was orderly to Gen. McArthur's chief of artillery, the latter one of Gen. McArthur's escort.

I have just learned a fact relative to Providence which has historical value. In the early part of the 19th century, Lafitte, who had pursued his piratical career in the Gulf of Mexico with great success, was pursued, and compelled to attempt his escape up the Mississippi. At a point directly opposite the village, one of his vessels stranded. With the other he worked three days to pull her off, without success. A storm and gale came up and their only remaining vessel was blown on the Mississippi shore and there stranded. Lafitte and all his crews were captured and taken to New Orleans in irons, where he was released on condition that he would engage in the war of 1812 with Great Britain. He served his country faithfully, and, when peace was proclaimed, received a full pardon. In the period of low water, the ribs of the stranded vessels can easily be seen on the Louisiana and Mississippi shores. Lafitte intended to flank his prisoners by taking his vessels into Lake Providence and Bayou Macon in the same manner we have intended to flank Vicksburg.

Mar. 23

Today Gen. Logan has received orders to move his Division to Eagle Bend to cooperate with a portion of Gen. Sherman's Corps in the advance upon the rear of Vicksburg. We leave in an hour. We have learned today also that Farragut has passed with two of his boats, the *Albatross* and *Hartford*, the batteries at Port Hudson, and they are now anchored at the mouth of the canal above Warrenton. It is said that during the passage, the steam frigate *Mississippi*, mounting thirty-six guns, was set on fire by an incendiary shell while directly under the enemies' guns, and burned to the water's edge. This is probably true, as the account appears in Memphis papers of the 20th inst. It is a serious loss to us. The *Mississippi* was the steamer used as flag ship by Commodore Perry on his expedition to Japan. Everything betokens renewed activity in this department. I expect within forty-eight hours to hear the roar and crash of battle.

Mar. 24

We are now at the old camping ground, six miles above Lake Providence. Yesterday, as I indicated above, the First Brigade

under Col. [M. D.] Leggett moved to Eagle Bend. This is the bend of the river directly opposite Terrapin Neck, a low, muddy point of land, selected with singular lack of judgement as a "base" for future operations. Let me describe the topography and geography of this region. From a point on the river opposite the Neck, so called from its singular resemblance in outline to a terrapin, a small bayou filled with cypresses and sunken logs, and of the consistence of mud, makes out to Steele's Bayou. Mud Bayou is not navigable, but Steele's Bayou is for steamers of an inferior class. It is proposed to transport the troops now here to a point on Steele's Bayou which the steamers can reach, where a small arm or inlet connects with the Yazoo below Haines' Bluff. To do this it is necessary to construct a curderoy [*sic*] road. This the troops are now doing. As I have before stated, Steele's Bayou connects with Yazoo River at its lower or southern extremity. The channel is very torturous, but preserves a general northern direction, being equidistant at each extremity from the Mississippi, until it receives the waters of Deer Creek in the rear of Greenville, and six miles distant. Near the point of intersection of Deer Creek, it connects by Black Bayou with the Sunflower. The latter empties into the Yazoo *above* Haines' Bluff. If the troops can in this way flank that position, they have gained an immense advantage, as from there to the rear of Vicksburg, there are no insurmountable topographical difficulties to encounter. Whether they succeed is quite another matter. I give the enemy too much credit for intelligence and military skill, to imagine for a moment that they are ignorant of the proposed undertaking, or that they have taken no measures to defeat it.

Soon after reaching Eagle Bend, Gen. Logan and Gen. McPherson who accompanied him, concluded to visit Gen. Grant at Milliken's Bend. Thither we went and spent the night, and this morning returned to our old camping ground. What is the next "plan" in Gen. Grant's crochety brain, it is impossible to indicate. His ways, like the ways of Providence, are past finding out. I suspect that all idea of reinforcing Gen. Sherman by way of Steele's Bayou has been abandoned.

WRITINGS IN UNITED STATES CHURCH HISTORY, 1955

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Each year the Historical Bulletin publishes a bibliography of the writings that have come to the attention of the present compiler; like all efforts of this nature it is unavoidably incomplete. Information concerning articles of value to the historian of the Catholic Church in the United States will be welcomed. Not all references bear the 1955 date, because certain publications are late in appearing, particularly quarterly magazines with an issue due out in December. Also, there are certain titles that are missed, but because of their value are worth inserting even though a year late.

As a further aid to the Church historian the present compiler has tried to combine his experience as an editor, teacher, and research scholar in the publication of a bibliography of the writings on United States Church history over the period of 1850-1950. This work is now available under the title: *The Catholic Church in America; an Historical Bibliography*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, Scarecrow Press. \$7.50. It includes a general essay on United States Catholic Church historiography, and about 5000 titles listed alphabetically and indexed topically with many annotations.

DOCUMENTS

Henni, John M., Correspondence. *The Salesianum*, v. 50 (1956), Jan. 15-21; Apr., 77-83; July, 129 ; Oct., 180-187. Letters numbered IX to XXVI of the Henni correspondence edited by Peter Leo Johnson. The dates vary from 1834 to 1850. Most of the letters are to Purcell of Cincinnati, four letters (XXIII-XXVI) are to Blanc of New Orleans. This correspondence forms a valuable source of information concerning the state of the Church in the Mid-west.

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GENERAL

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MEDIEVAL

Medieval Political Ideas, by Ewart Lewis. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 2 volumes. 1955. \$12.50.

In these two volumes Professor Lewis has compiled a collection of materials that will certainly be of help to teachers and advanced students of medieval history and political theory who want to understand more about medieval political ideas, but lack the documents and source materials in accessible form. The volumes cover the following items: "The Idea of Law; Property and Lordship; The Origin and Purpose of Political Authority; The Individual and the Community; The Structure of Government in the State; The Structure of Authority in the Church; The Problem of the Empire; The Regnum and Sacerdotium."

Under each of the topics, lengthy extracts are made from the political writings of various medieval theologians and theorists, such writers as Ruffinus, Bracton, Gratian, Aegidius Romanus, William of Occam, Marsilius of Padua, Aquinas, Wycliff, John of Paris, and some others. It is true that some of these passages were already in translation in whole or in part, but the great advantage of this compilation is that the student has them at hand and does not have to shop around in several different volumes to locate them. The author's translations were made "from the best published texts" she could obtain. The work is paginated as a single volume and the footnotes are frequently lengthy and helpful explanations of the selections reproduced. Before each selection there is a brief note on the life and work of the writer and the bibliographical notes are both extensive and helpful.

There is no doubt that these two volumes should be accessible to every student of medieval history and political theory, but it is indeed unfortunate that the publishers have not combined both volumes into one and reduced the price considerably.

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The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries, by R. R. Bolgar. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. pp. vii, 592. \$8.50.

In his introduction the author expresses the hope that this book may contribute to a revaluation of the educational potentialities of the Graeco-Roman literary heritage. Such a revaluation the author considers necessary in view of the fact that Greek and Latin studies, for so long unchallenged as the foundation of western education, have in comparatively recent times become an object of popular and professional indifference, even attack. The present contribution to the revaluation is to be in the form of an historical inquiry into the effect of the classical literatures upon the thought and actions of western Europe "from the beginning of the Dark Ages to the close of the sixteenth century."

Manifold problems of detail, interestingly outlined by Dr. Bolgar in his Introduction, make it impossible to hope for an even approximately definitive survey of the classical tradition for many years to come. Pending

the completion of such a survey, however, the present work is modestly offered as "a brief introductory account." Its unifying principle, in the face of the great variety of specialties from which information must be culled, will be found in the emphasis placed upon "the aims and methods of classical studies," insofar as these can be established for the periods covered.

In the first chapter, entitled "The Background," Dr. Bolgar sets the stage for his inquiry. The classical heritage is to be understood as that literary output which, rooted primarily in and imitative of the city state culture, found its most perfect form "in the masterpieces of Athens and Augustan Rome." Along with this heritage came also an educational legacy comprising the devices, methods and aims which had been operative in the schools of antiquity where students were taught to read and imitate the great models. The gateway through which part of this twofold inheritance of content and method entered into western European culture was the Age of the Fathers, when the first learned Christians, by the varying degrees in which they condemned or approved the study of pagan literature, provided the arguments which for many centuries to come could be adduced either in favor of or against such a study.

Out of the severance of the Eastern Empire from the West there resulted two more or less independent traditions of classical studies. Before taking up the tradition as it developed in the West, Dr. Bolgar devotes his second chapter, headed "The Greek East," to a survey of the fortunes, the aims and methods of classical studies through the thousand years of the Byzantine Empire.

To the chief object of his investigation—the fortunes, aims and methods of classical studies in the West—Dr. Bolgar devotes chapters three to nine. In chapter three, entitled "The Carolingian Age," we are presented with a survey of the development of classical studies from the beginnings in fifth century Ireland, through the further elaborations in seventh and eighth century Britain, to the Carolingian reforms on the continent and the impact of these reforms throughout the ninth century. Chapters four and five, labelled respectively "The Pre-Scholastic Age" and "The Scholastic Age," treat of the tremendous growth of interest in classical literatures throughout the period from the tenth to about the end of the thirteenth century. Under the title "Collapse and New Beginnings," the sixth chapter relates the growing revolt against Scholasticism in the fourteenth century, and the rise of a new cult of antiquity, as exemplified in the person of Petrarch. "The High Renaissance," with its accent on humanism, its virtually complete and systematic mastery of the Greek and Latin heritage, is the subject of chapter seven. The absorption of classical learning into the European vernaculars, which was the final step in the West's assimilation of its Graeco-Roman heritage, is discussed in chapter eight under the heading "The End of the Renaissance and the Appearance of New Patterns in Classical Education and Scholarship." Finally, a short concluding chapter—"Education and the Classical Heritage"—is an evaluation of the data uncovered in the course of the inquiry.

Particularly, an answer is given, in this concluding chapter, to the originally formulated question concerning the educational potentialities of classical literature. It is pointed out that the literary remains of a culture

which contributed so much to our own must inevitably continue to be an object of curiosity. It is, moreover, highly unlikely that a type of study which has been so fruitful in the past should have lost all value for the present. The social sciences—the object of a major portion of modern education—could themselves reap rich benefits from the literatures of antiquity. For these literatures may be viewed as records of once flourishing societies, and thus viewed they contain a wealth of information full of meaning for the social scientist.

A short review can scarcely do justice to the copious detail and at the same time broad perspective which the author has so successfully achieved in this book. It is a book which the specialist will have to take seriously. If he finds room for revisions and additions where his field is treated, this will not be contrary to the spirit of the book. Nor will it lessen the value of the book as a summary whose comprehensiveness should delight the veteran scholar and whose detail should be a challenge to the beginner.

Worthy of special mention are the two appendices, which give further solidity to the book—if this be needed. The first, a list of Greek manuscripts in Italy during the fifteenth century, is a systematic exploitation of manuscript catalogues as well as of relevant books and articles. It has already proved its worth. The second appendix is a list of translations of Greek and Roman classical authors before 1600. Like the first, it is well documented and, again like the first, it should prove to be a valuable aid to scholarship.

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Knights of Columbus Vatican Depository at Saint Louis University.

The Sword and the Cross, by Robert M. Grant. New York. Macmillan. 1955. pp. 144. \$2.75.

This small volume covers a period of approximately five hundred years. It describes the religious policy of the Romans of the Republic, discusses the persecutions of the Christians under the Roman Empire, and presents reasons why the sword failed in its contest with the cross. The author is right in tracing the source of the sufferings of the early Christians to the essentially religious character of the Roman state, but he practically denies his fundamental thesis in maintaining the possibility that "the Roman government could have offered in 111 the edict of toleration which it finally had to give two centuries later" (p. 139).

A few lapses in grammar and needless repetitions would seem to indicate that the book was rather hastily written. Lack of references to primary sources lessen the value of the work for historians, and fairly numerous errors of detail could mislead the casual reader. The author confuses the Roman *augures* with the *haruspices* (p. 10). The former were not concerned with predicting the future, nor did they practice extispicy, the art of reading animal livers. It is stated that after the suppression of the Bacchanalia from 186 to 181 B.C. "no trace of Bacchanalia is found in Italy until the second century of the empire" (p. 20). This may be true with regard to epigraphical material, but there is an abundance of evidence from vase paintings, sarcophagi, and in particular the murals of the Villa Igem at Pompeii to show that the Dionysiac mysteries were highly popular in the last century of the Republic and the first century of the

Empire. "Temporary consul" (p. 61) is hardly an adequate translation of *consul suffectus*. For the period of the persecutions it cannot be said that "the Roman wife passed from the authority of her father to the authority of her husband" (p. 132). In this period the marriage without *manus*, in which the woman remained in the *potestas* of her father or guardian, was by far the more common. A long passage from the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix is quoted as though it were a part of an oration of Cornelius Fronto (pp. 75-76). The only authority for ascribing this passage to Fronto is a sentence towards the middle of the passage which has been suppressed in Grant's translation: *id etiam Cirtensis nostri testature oratio* (*Octavius* 9.6). The apologist Justin is cited as approving on principle the divorce of a Christian woman from her pagan husband (p. 136). However, as Justin himself observed, it was not the husband's paganism but his gross immorality that prompted the woman to take this drastic measure.

Such errors in detail could be multiplied, but they are less significant than the boldness of the author's hypotheses. Causal connections are frequently suggested where there are no grounds for doing so. Dr. Grant is Associate Professor of New Testament in the Federated Theological Faculty at the University of Chicago, and his use of Scripture admirably illustrates the extent of some of his conjectures. St. Luke's gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were "perhaps" written towards the end of the reign of Domitian (p. 56). "The Apocalypse is ultimately a subversive document," though "it must also be admitted that its author was right on one basic point. . . . What he hates . . . is . . . the deification of a living man" (pp. 59-60). Legislation against the Christians "we may suggest . . . was due to the discovery of the Apocalypse of John" (p. 60). "Perhaps ultimately it was chance that caused the Apocalypse of John to fall into the hands of the Roman police" (p. 138). To counteract the influence of the Apocalypse, "we may perhaps believe that some Christians supposed it necessary to publish an entirely different explanation of the Christian religion, the gospel of John" (p. 57). The First Epistle of St. Peter was written during the reign of Trajan, but "it came to Asia too late, however, to undo the harm done by the Revelation of John" (p. 71). Many of these false opinions with regard to the New Testament which are fairly common among liberal exegetes are due to *a priori* assumptions with regard to the civil and ecclesiastical history of the first century which will only be removed by more patient and more thorough studies of all the evidence at our disposal.

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The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny, by Hans Baron. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1955. pp. xxix, x, 656 (continuous pagination in the two volumes). \$10.00.

This is a careful and patient readjustment of currently accepted views concerning the Italian Renaissance in the early 1400's. Dr. Baron's general thesis is that in this period the formative forces were not simply an already triumphant political tyranny and a rampant archaizing classicism, but were rather a genuine civic spirit and a humanism respectful of vernacular

as well as of Latin and Greek literary achievement. Humanists worked on the past in terms of their own present problems, thus both discovering the past and learning from it at the same time.

Throughout this painstakingly thought-out work, based on a really dismaying mastery of primary material and long reflection, the close relationship of humanism and politics, with the sense of civic responsibility fostered by the best humanist tradition, is made abundantly evident. Although the theorems are here worked out chiefly in terms of Florence and of Leonardo Bruni, Coluccio Salutati, and Pier Paolo Vergerio, one feels their wider application and the influence of the currents here described on the careers, some hundred years later, of Erasmus and St. Thomas more, who had, in addition, an international outlook which it was still a little difficult for the Italian citizen of the quattrocento to achieve.

This work is important for the serious historian of the Renaissance itself or of the history of literature and ideas in general.

Walter J. Ong, Saint Louis University.

MODERN

A History of Southeast Asia, by D. G. E. Hall. New York. St. Martin's Press. 1955. pp. xvi, 807. \$10.00.

Before World War II Southeast Asia was the least important area in America's world interests. Scholarly investigations of the region (except for the Philippines) were almost solely confined to antiquarian topics and anti-imperialist tracts. Today the situation is different. Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, Thailand and Vietnam are now of considerable interest to our foreign policy makers and specialized social science monographs are appearing regularly. There has been a need, however, for a comprehensive one volume history of these countries in English. S. E. Harrison's *Southeast Asia: A Short History*, published two years ago, was too brief and too sketchy to fill this need as have been the several other works bearing the word "history" in their titles. Now, however, D. G. E. Hall, formerly head of the History Department at the University of Rangoon, Burma, and presently Professor of Southeast Asian History in the University of London, has published a comprehensive one-volume work which ably integrates the findings of many British, French, and Dutch historians into a general history of the region. This work has been written both for the area specialist and for the general historian. It should be useful to both.

Hall's history comprises four parts. Part I, The Pre-European Period, takes up the rise of the indigenous civilizations on both peninsula and islands. Part II is devoted to the earlier phases of European expansion, roughly the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Part III considers nineteenth century imperialist rule, while the final part is devoted to the challenge of twentieth century nationalism.

The area specialist will find this work a handy compendium of historical events, a careful catalog of the gaps in our knowledge, and a demonstration of the use of source materials from adjacent lands to fill in some of the lacunae. This last device is especially well illustrated by Hall's use of the early Chinese dynastic histories to describe the kingdoms of Funan and

Champa in what is now IndoChina. Other readers should derive from this book a better appreciation of the internal histories of the Southeast Asian countries and of the impact which the Commercial Revolution and the Age of Imperialism had upon their development.

Hall's discussion of the following topics may be of special value to teachers of European history:

1. Malacca's role in the fifteenth century spread of Islam through Java and Sumatra (pp. 176-185);
2. the impact upon Siamese politics of Louis XIV's support of the French *Société des Missions Étrangères* (pp. 303-314);
3. the administration and local politics of the Dutch East Indian Company (V. O. C.) from 1602 to 1799 (pp. 225-282);
4. Anglo-French diplomacy regarding Siam from 1895 to 1909 (pp. 591-612);
5. the economic impact of European domination of Southeast Asia especially during the twentieth century (pp. 649-671).

Although the writing of such a work as this is a masterful accomplishment the book will pose certain difficulties to those who are not area specialists. First, there is a disproportionate emphasis upon the last four hundred years; only one quarter of the book is devoted to the earlier periods when the area's great civilizations were formed. Second, too much attention is paid to diplomatic, commercial, and military events with little assessment of their impact upon social and cultural life. Third, the number of maps is grossly inadequate. In many sections of the book (e.g., that dealing with Burmo-T'ai relations in the sixteenth century) one will have great difficulty visualizing the locale of the many diplomatic coups and military actions. Aside from these points, however, one must heartily recommend Hall's work. Its value is substantially enhanced by the inclusion of the main dynastic lists of the countries and lists of colonial governors and governors-general in an appendix. The book, furthermore, contains a good bibliography and the bibliographic section devoted to biographies is especially impressive.

Edward R. O'Connor, University of Texas.

The New Woman: Her Emergence in English Drama, 1600-1730, by Jean Elizabeth Gagen. New York. Twayne Publishers. 1954. pp. 193. \$3.50.

This circumstantial, documented account concerns not directly the changing woman, but the changing view of woman as found in the drama of the late English Renaissance and Restoration periods. It is thus a treatment of a complex theme: society's comment on one aspect of its own being. At times the comment is that of woman herself on herself, as in the works of Aphra Behn or of Margaret Cavendish, the remarkable Duchess of Newcastle, whose nineteen published but unproduced plays, we are quite accurately informed, exist "in a class by themselves where they defy analysis."

Lady Knowell, Lady Froth, Lady Addlepot, Lady Stroddle, and their companions, not to mention Rosalura, Lillia Bianca, and theirs, make it clear that the "new woman" of this period as portrayed by playwright from Beaumont and Fletcher to Colley Cibber was one who felt herself either emancipated or destined to be emancipated and who was torn by the con-

flicts which make emancipation necessary and which emancipation nevertheless never fully solves. The details of this social evolution are here treated in terms of learned ladies, scientifically inclined ladies, lady writers, cultivated ladies, and various extraordinary ladies, including some Amazons.

The treatment is uniformly honest, repertorial rather than analytically profound. It invites a further, more penetrating study. One might observe, for example, how the emancipation of woman in this age goes hand-in-hand with a change in the notion of learning (*eloquentia*, the product of rhetoric, a peculiarly male concern, begins to be eclipsed as an ultimate ideal in schooling), and in the notion of society itself. At this same time Latin yields to the vernaculars, long associated with the education chiefly of woman. All this suggests how far the learning of Latin, with the genuinely terrifying teaching methods which accompanied it and which could hardly be applied to girls, was in effect something like initiation into a secret society of males, charged, as in more primitive societies, with maturing boys at puberty by teaching them self-reliance and by inducting them into the mythology and philosophy of their society.

Such reflections suggest that the crisis of womankind at this period, in part not new at all, is in part also decidedly new, being not a negligible and inexplicable incident in the long history of the human race, but a phenomenon in the complex evolution of society which started long ago from a point of no return and continues into our day.

Walter J. Ong, Saint Louis University.

The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England, by E. G. R. Taylor. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1954. pp. 453. \$9.50.

"The Art of Navigation is to be perfected by the Solution of this Problem. To find, at any Time, the Longitude of a Place at Sea. A Public Reward is promised for the Discovery. Let him obtain it who is able;" are the beginning words of chapter IX, and indicate briefly the matter of this book. Around the efforts of men who tried to solve this problem, their successes and failures, the author has woven a very interesting chronicle. It is the story of the ordinary, the lesser men of the period between 1485 and 1714 who devoted themselves, along with the great scientific minds, to solving scientific problems of navigation, surveying, gunnery, horology. Their serious efforts at solving these problems are narrated, along with the jejune solutions of some; e.g. "Stephen Plan considered that by keeping a fire under a watch it could be made to keep good time . . ." (pg. 156).

Well told is the struggle that went on between the sea-faring sailor, the "theoretical" mathematician, and the instrument maker in their efforts to make accurate scientific calculations at sea, as well as on the land. On the one hand to win over men who counted mathematics as one of the "Black Arts" to the acceptance of it as a necessary part of navigation, surveying, dialling; and, on the other hand, to impart sufficient knowledge of mathematics to the sailor, the cartographer, the surveyor, the dialler, the astronomer, the almanack-maker, the instrument maker for the solution of their scientific problems took time and patience, and was only achieved after many failures. And herein lies the story told.

Especially interesting is the development of the slide-rule, the plain-table for surveying, and the story behind the thousand and one different scientific

instruments, each the fruit of an individual's attempt to solve the "longitude-problem." In the beginning, directions for the use of these instruments had to come from the inventor—and then orally; and not until about the beginning of the seventeenth century were these directions written out. The development of the barometer is told, along with the suggestions of men who would use it to determine the longitude of a place at sea. And all these methods and means were given impetus by the offering of a reward to the first solver of the "longitude-problem".

The book is divided into three parts: the first being the chronicle of what happened; the second part contains a chronological bibliographic catalogue of some 400 practitioners of the time; and in the third part is listed in chronological order all the pertinent works that the author has been able to discover. The biographies and the list of works make the work of Professor Taylor a very significant contribution to the history of scientific development in England.

J. F. Daly, Saint Louis University.

Roman Britain, by I. A. Richmond. Penguin Books. pp. 240. 65¢.

The Beginnings of English Society, by Dorothy Whitelock. Penguin Books. pp. 256. 65¢.

English Society in the Early Middle Ages (1066-1307), by Doris Mary Stenton. Penguin Books. pp. 304. 65¢.

England in the Late Middle Ages (1307-1536), by A. R. Myers. Penguin Books. pp. 263. 65¢.

Tudor England, by S. T. Bindoff. Penguin Books. pp. 320. 65¢.

England in the Seventeenth Century (1603-1714), by Maurice Ashley. Penguin Books. pp. 256. 50¢.

England in the Eighteenth Century (1714-1815), by J. H. Plumb. Penguin Books. pp. 224. 50¢.

England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914), by David Thomson. Penguin Books. pp. 250. 50¢.

The eight volumes listed above represent a fine set of histories of England. Each volume is a large full-size volume and the author is a recognized professional in the field the book covers. So far there is nothing to separate this set of volumes from one or two other sets which cover the same periods. It is true that some of them cover it more extensively, but they also cover it far more expensively. Paperbound, and therefore requiring easier handling, they nevertheless place at the disposal of the teacher, student, or average reader, an excellent group of historical writings. For the price of a single, average history book (\$4.75), one can buy this whole set. For the teacher who is lecturing on survey courses, as well as for the teacher of upper-division history courses (and of course for the graduate student seeking economic purchases), this set of *Penguin* histories, will prove extremely helpful.

Let us hope that other series, now in much more expensive dress, will find their way into this economical and practical form. The Penguin press is surely to be congratulated on this fine set of volumes.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

The Third Reich, ed. by Maurice Baumont, John H. E. Fried, and Edmond Vermeil. New York. Frederick A. Praeger. pp. 910. \$9.00.

The International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, on initiative and with assistance of UNESCO, conducted an inquiry into the ideological background, environmental circumstances and political techniques of National-Socialism in Germany.

The editors present as a result a symposium of—for the most part—well done and legibly written scholarly essays, contributed by 27 authorities on the subject, 9 among them being of French, 8 of German, 4 of English, 1 each of Belgian and Dutch origin, and 4 teaching at American institutions of higher learning. As a reference work this comprehensive study undoubtedly serves its purpose, even though the interested reader will find but little, if any, strikingly new information.

Part One, which deals with the general intellectual climate of Pre-Hitler Germany, and which is composed of the contributions of Constantin Frantz, Paul de Lagarde, Nietzsche, H. St. Chamberlain, Stefan George, Moeller van den Bruck, deserves in the opinion of this reviewer outstanding credit among the 8 papers; the excellent essay of Edmund Vermeil (Sorbonne) on "Origin, Nature and Development of German Nationalist Ideology in the 19th and 20th centuries," is of particular interest.

Part Two describes and explains the economic, social and political background of Hitler's ascendance to power. Here Alan Bullock's (Oxford) "The German Communists and the Rise of Hitler" offers a well documented and brilliantly written analysis of more than merely historical importance. It proves abundantly that if Bruening's "use of emergency decrees helped to prepare the way for Hitler's dictatorship" (508), the ultimate cause for these often referred to decrees as well as for the quasi-legal, successful Nazi-strategy must be ascribed to the Moscow directed parliamentary tactics of the German communist party," the then most powerful one in Europe outside the Sowjet-Union" (504); it controlled together with the Nazis from 1932 a clear majority in the Prussian Landtag as well as in the Reichstag: Reichstag-elections from July 1932: 230 National-Socialists, 89 Communists, among 608 seats; Reichstag-elections from November, 1932: 196 National-Socialists, 100 Communists, among 584 seats. On June 3, 1932, the Communists introduced their vote of non-confidence against the Prussian Government and carried it through with the active help of the Nazis (513). German Communists had declared "it to be better that the Nazis should come openly in power" (509); from the winter of 1929-30 the Communist Party "joined the Nazis . . . in their denunciation of the Young-Plan which marked an important stage in that rapprochement between Germany and the Western Powers which they had been instructed to prevent". The Communist leader Thaelmann declared: "The defense of the Sowjet-Union must be made the main thesis of the revolutionary policy of workers of all nations" (510).

Since the Weimar Republic's foreign political main objective—very much against Russian intentions—"was to reestablish good relations between Germany and the Western Powers" (510) and a parliamentary majority for this policy was just as blatantly missing as for the survival of the democratic constitution, what other way remained open than a desperate last effort to stop revolution and barbarism (well known in Germany but

not yet fully realised abroad) by an authoritarian regime, based on constitutional emergency decrees, in the hands of such a reliable Anti-Nazi as Bruening?

The second outstanding essay in this part of the volume is presented by Gerhard Ritter (Freiburg) on the "Historical Foundations of the Rise of National-Socialism." But, as the distinguished author remarks, this paper was written in 1950 and since "its publication many new sources have come to light" and his own research work has altered his views to a certain degree (381).

The third and final section, which is explanation and analysis of political methods and techniques of the NS-Regime, contains among 13 papers an excellent study by F. Gregoire (Louvain) on "The use and misuse of Philosophy and Philosophers". Inevitably the reader will find in this last part of the volume a considerable amount of overlapping. Whether part of it should not have been better eliminated, remains open to question, although Jacques Rueff, President of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, states in his Preface that the editing committee preferred this way "to an overstrict regimentation which would have interfered with the creative freedom of the author" (XIV).

It is certainly hard, maybe impossible, to tell the whole story in one single volume, however competently it might be written. Those who lived through the Third Reich, believers, fellow-travellers, as well as the condemned and silenced, shall always feel that some questions remained unanswered which historians and social scientists hardly ever have to cope with. What about the attitude and responsibility of those responsible for education and learning before and after 1933; what of the conservative as well as socialist reaction to resistance and underground; what of the international acceptance of Hitler and the resulting "coexistence" theory; what of the national socialist version of International Law (interstate relations and the problem of intervention). These are but a few topics which certainly would be relevant within the broad scope of the UNESCO-resolution of 1948 "to draw up a report . . . to make possible the identification of similar movements in the future, from the first moment of their appearance" (XIII). Of course it would have been easy even by 1948, to identify analogous movements in the present, which is clear evidence that philosophical origins and political methods and procedures are only indirectly related.

Anyhow, these remarks are not meant to belittle the noteworthy achievement of the editors and authors who deserve full credit for a highly competent and eminently useful piece of research-work.

Kurt V. Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

The Age of Ideas, by George R. Havens. New York. Henry Holt and Company. 1955. pp. x, 474. \$6.00.

Professor Havens, in *The Age of Ideas*, has accomplished a feat too infrequently witnessed in the field of historical reporting; he has come up with a completely readable and historically accurate volume. He has apparently mastered the technique of journalistic reporting without losing the scholarliness of the careful researcher in a highly critical field. He has

deftly combined biographical data with an analytical commentary of the French philosophies of the eighteenth century.

The Age of Ideas has three main divisions labeled by the author: I Transition; II Criticism, Ferment, Repression; and III Explosion. Part I, as indicated by the title, lays the groundwork for the author's major effort. Part II is devoted to a study of the outstanding writers of eighteenth century France. Included are Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot. There is constant reference to and some treatment of contemporaries of these authors, e.g., D'Alembert and Grimm, but in the main the lesser writers are omitted. Mr. Havens manages to crowd into these few pages a discussion not only of the better known writing of these men, but also those literary pieces that the ordinary student rarely hears treated. Furthermore, the reader does not get the impression that the author is merely fulfilling a duty by commenting on these writings. The book was closed by the reviewer after many hours of delightful reading, and with a feeling that the author had accomplished a solid piece of reporting, and had put it together in orderly fashion. The century was treated as a historical unit. There is a well constructed introduction and a thoughtful conclusion.

It would appear from the foregoing that the reviewer was swept off his feet by Mr. Havens' effort. There are a few other points that have to be made. (1) While Mr. Havens for the most part evaluated the writings of these men in the light of the times in which they wrote (e.g. p. 133), he uses too much hindsight. This is most evident in his remarks in Chapter I. (2) Voltaire got off a bit too lightly. The author appeared to the reviewer to dwell unduly upon a critical discussion of the *Philosophical Letters* in the comments on Shakespeare. There is, on the other hand, little or no comment made on Voltaire's historical inaccuracies. Voltaire, by a presentation based on omission, escapes the critic's views on political errors. (3) The illustrations, probably through no fault of the author, had a remarkable tendency of appearing in the wrong sections of the book.

This volume of Havens shows the tremendous force of the pen for good or evil. It brings into stark relief the great responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the writer. It emphasizes the necessity of weighing words, of careful reporting, of the fickleness of emotions. No man is a god; no man has the right to propound principles that derive solely from emotions, principles that are the result of real or fancied mistreatment, of personal antipathy (p. 269). How, for example, does Rousseau imagine himself to be an authority on morality, the state, education? His writings appear to be the plaintive wailings of a hurt child. Yet it is such a man who is called upon to fill the void created by the debunkers of religion, by those pseudo-scientists who, by rationalization, seek to dismiss countless centuries of civilization. This is where the great fault lies in reporting on this era. There has yet to be an analysis of the period in the light of sound principles. Too often the writer on the eighteenth century is carried away by the literary finesse of the philosophes. Much of what the philosophe criticized was valid, but the approach was more negative than positive. The "Age of Reason" has ceased to occupy its divine pedestal, yet too many historians report on the era with awe and naivety. Mr. Havens has almost but not quite reached the point of complete objectivity in this field of concentration.

Donald R. Penn, Georgetown University.

Leicester, Patron of Letters, by Eleanor Rosenberg. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. xx, 395. \$5.25.

Interest in the patronage system which encouraged literature in former times, and most particularly through the Renaissance, has been growing in the course of recent efforts to comprehend literature in its real historical origins and existence. The present work undertakes to penetrate the vast mass of literature which was generated around the person of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1531-88), and which includes large masses of the non-literary publications which formed the staple of Elizabethan reading, even for litterateurs.

The works dedicated to Leicester (practically always, of course, with his permission, at least tacit) are a fair, if not complete, index of what he patronized either by moral support or by grants of subsidies in the form of appointments to governmental posts. These works include treatises on cosmography and horsemanship, on chess and medicine, on rhetoric and usury, on history and the theory of history, and on many other more or less specialized subjects, as well as numbers of politico-religious tracts against Catholics in general or Jesuits in particular, and, more cautiously and obliquely, against the non-Puritan elements in the state Church of England.

Leicester's often cool, but generally unmistakable, sympathy for the Puritan party is reflected somewhat in his all but total failure to bestow subventions, moral or financial, for anything which we today should consider literature in the stricter sense and with which Puritans commonly were inclined to have little patience. The few strictly literary pieces dedicated to him are almost all simply translations of the classics, such as Thomas Nuce's *Seneca* or Golding's *Ovid*. Spenser's original poem, *Virgil's Gnat*, is an exception, but its political and personal allegorizing, as well as its delayed publication, show that it, too, had direct reference to practical affairs. As for playwrights, with the possible exception of university Latin dramatists, Leicester did not sponsor any as such, although he maintained troupes of players for socio-political purposes.

However his seeming neglect of those totally dedicated to the Muses was hardly cruelty. Even Leicester's nephew Sir Philip Sidney, whose importance as a literary patron has been treated at length in Mr. John Buxton's new book, was more often than not a literary patron with a political purpose—if only because, as Miss Rosenberg so neatly puts it, the far-flung, strategically married Dudley family group "had something of the appearance of a political party." As a matter of fact recorded by Miss Rosenberg, there was no one, or almost no one, in Leicester's day who considered himself totally dedicated to the Muses. Renaissance proficiency in letters is acquired and vaunted for frankly practical purposes. The eloquent man, or the literary man, was at the service of those who could use him. This is not to say that he was morally corrupt, but only that he felt a need to tie himself into society at a particular point—as we should say today, he wanted to be committed, or *engagé*. Literature through Renaissance flourishes under these conditions. We can be thankful that it does, but how much thanks we owe to the literary patrons is a difficult question to answer. In their attitude toward literature patrons were not disinterested, but neither were they uninterested.

Miss Rosenberg does an excellent piece of work in reporting and explicating circumstantially the whole patronage situation and its most important consequences. This is a mature, discerning, and exceedingly valuable book. In so far as it portrays the complexities of the English Renaissance situation out of which literature grew, one might desiderate just one additional dimension—the Latin dimension of the Elizabethan and Jacobean mind which, it cannot be recalled too often, was regularly trained from elementary school on not only to Latin but in Latin, that is, through textbooks written exclusively in Latin, no matter what the subject. Miss Rosenberg is not entirely unaware of this dimension, but her book does not really enter into it. Leicester is at the very forefront of vernacular developments, and yet twenty-three per cent of the books she lists as dedicated to him are in Latin, many of the others are translations from Latin or from modern foreign languages, and all the remainder are not in English (there are some Italian works). Moreover, the author relies somewhat exclusively on the *Short-Title Catalogue* for her listings of books before 1640. But the *Short-Title Catalogue* omits all editions of books by persons from the British Isles published abroad in Latin—which means often *most* of the Latin editions of works by British authors! This is not intended as a stricture on a book whose professed purpose is so admirably achieved, but merely as a suggestion helping to define the scope of its objectives.

Walter J. Ong, Saint Louis University.

Failure of a Revolution, by Rudolf Coper. New York. Cambridge University Press. 1955. pp. 294. \$5.00.

"The mere existence of trade-unions does not safeguard democracy; it is possible that the leaders of trade-unions may conspire with the owners of private economic power to prevent or destroy democracy. This was what happened in Germany in 1918 and 1919." (270)

"Germany got rid of her workers' and soldiers' councils quickly and without the foreign intervention for which Vorwaerts (the Berlin social-democratic leading daily paper, note of this reviewer) was longing. . . . Those of the upstarts who rose to power in the revolution crushed those who attempted to rise to power. Then they effaced themselves and relinquished their places to respectable Germans such as Hindenburg, Papen, Goebbels, Ribbentrop and Hitler. . . . And soon the German return to normalcy was complete, the return to this German normalcy of an almost unbridled economic liberalism in which iron and dyestuff-merchants owned the state. . . ." (281)

The thesis and conclusions presented by the author (born 1904 in Berlin, economist and regular contributor to *Berliner Tageblatt* before emigration in 1933, now professor of Economics at Loyola University in New Orleans) are based on the story of origin and early adventures of the Weimar Republic between November, 1918, and March, 1919.

This book belongs to the category of economic interpretations of history which follow widely the post hoc ergo propter hoc pattern. They are inspired by the honest objective to rationalize in retrospective view seemingly illogical phenomena, they are likely to wind up with a generalizing

verdict which tries to explain anything and everybody as "prelude and forerunners of Hitler".

There are parts in this narrative of a revolution, described as abortive, which make for highly interesting and profitable reading because they provide well-substantiated text-book information. There are, for instance, the remarks about the meaning and interpretation of the Erfurt- and Gotha-Programs, the outline of different shades and versions within the German social-democratic party before and after 1918—Revolutionary Marxists, Bernstein Reformists, and middle of the road Socialists, the account of the party-split between Majority-Socialists and Independents during the war, and of the political importance of the Labor-Unions, shop-stewards and workers' councils during the revolution, the different executive committees and their constitutional basis and the Working Community between employers and employees.

The political conclusions deduced from well known facts are of course highly controversial. Even if not bluntly said so, an attentive reader can hardly help drawing the cogent conclusion that according to the author's belief revolutionary Marxism and the establishment of a Soviet-Germany would have been the only way to overcome German militarism and its disastrous consequences, notwithstanding the inevitable neglect of the majority will of the people. The thesis of culpable failure of the German revolution is built on a blistering indictment of the Majority-Social-Democrats, particularly their leaders Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske etc. They are characterized as smart politicians, but practically without any principles, double-crossing and betraying their followers, possessed by unbridled power ambitions . . . little men who used violence when they should have used power, and cravenly threw away power if somebody else so much as mentioned violence. . . . (244).

Ebert's action (his famous compromise with the Reichswehr against Spartacists as well as rightist rebels; note of the reviewer) is explained by his endeavor to maintain the old order in the new form of a Republic; he could not afford to tell the truth to the nation . . . "because he wanted to use militarism to defeat social change" (100).

The Revolutionaries on the other hand (Independents, Spartacists) are presented as pure idealists, lacking capable leadership in the critical moment, but basically on the right way to establish a new and sounder Germany. Russian interest and interference as well as Communist ideology are minimized and only perfunctorily mentioned. Kurt Evinez, self-styled prime-minister and revolutionary leader in Bavaria, November, 1918, is singled out as "a man of inexhaustible energy, an inexhaustible well of ideas and a spirit of inspiring idealism" (256). It seems to this reviewer that Wheeler-Bennett's "Nemesis of Power"—omitted from the author's bibliography—in a well substantiated and objective judgment allows more reliable conclusions, because it does justice to the German Majority—Socialists and organized labor. These two groups, whatever their shortcomings might have been, did their very best in the service of their nation in extremely difficult circumstances and under enormous foreign political and economical pressure. That they were not prepared to betray their democratic conviction should not be held against them, and this had nothing whatever to do with the later coming of Hitler to power.

That revolutionary socialists and progressive bourgeois, because they distrusted each other, did not join forces is said to have been the real German tragedy . . . (70). This and similar statements need before all some definition of the cliché-terms. Besides, whether or not a popular front regime would have done better in Germany than it did elsewhere, remains at least an open issue. But it certainly could just as well be maintained that the real central-European tragedy of these bygone days was caused by the complete absence of international solidarity, best expressed in the difference let us say between Dawes and Marshall Plans.

"Failure of a Revolution" resembles in various respects J. Buttinger's "In the Twilight of Socialism," a history of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists (New York, 1953). Both books refer to the obvious discrepancy between socialist revolutionary talk and antirevolutionary action (105). This indeed points to the source of many tragic past misunderstandings.

Ebert and Scheidemann had worked hard to serve their nation and professed to be democrats of the type that condemned any use of power as undemocratic (40).

But would or could social-revolutionary action in Germany by 1918 possibly have led to democracy and even if one accepts the nowadays known "People's democracy," would this have been in the light of our experiences a safeguard against militarism and a solid promissory note for peace? Here—I am afraid—economic interpretation of history once more dodges the issue.

Kurt V. Schuschnigg, Saint Louis University.

The Holstein Papers: the Memoirs, Diaries and Correspondence of Friedrich von Holstein, 1837-1909, ed. by Norman Rich, and M. H. Fisher. Vol. I: *Memoirs and Political Observations*. New York. Cambridge University Press, 1955. pp. xxvii, 216. \$5.00.

This is the first volume of the long unpublished Von Holstein archives, which were first left in the care of Von Holstein's friend Helene von Lebbin and later in the hands of the banker Paul von Schwabach. Then they were taken by the Nazi Gestapo, which in 1939 turned the papers over to the German foreign ministry. Seized by the Allies in 1945, the papers are now being published with the consent of the British and American governments. In the early 1930's the Von Holstein archives were made available to Friedrich von Trotha, Von Holstein's German biographer, and to Helmuth Rogge, whose preparation of a complete edition of Von Holstein's papers was halted when the National Socialists came into power.

The volume reviewed here forms part of a longer series, which, when finished, will include Von Holstein's diaries, political memoranda, and correspondence. Very little has been deleted from the original papers. Only repetitious statements, anecdotes of no historical interest, and letters sent to Von Holstein have been omitted. The corrected translated typewritten transcripts, along with microfilms of the original documents, have been placed in the British Public Record Office and the U. S. National Archives.

The memoirs and political observations constitute an apologia in which Von Holstein attempts to justify his own diplomatic policies, expounds his

ideas on German politics, and airs his prejudices about various German officials who had incurred his wrath. Written between 1883 and the period immediately after his dismissal in 1906, the memoirs are disjointed and gossipy. Interspersed with Von Holstein's comments on such dissimilar subjects as the Danish War, the Franco-Prussian War, the *Kulturkampf*, Von Holstein's role in the Von Arnim trial, Bismarck's Russian policy, the quarrel between Bismarck and William II, and the reasons for the growing Anglo-German hostility, are personal comments, many of them venomous, on most of the key figures in the German foreign ministry.

Particularly vitriolic are Von Holstein's denunciations of Bismarck, who is depicted as a petty man with black moods (p. 6) and passionate hatreds (pp. 7-8), who was totally lacking in self control, and who forced "everyone with whom he had official contacts to comply with his whims" (p. 91). "It was a psychological necessity for Bismarck to make his power felt by tormenting, harrying, ill-treating people" (p. 118), Von Holstein wrote elsewhere. Not only did he have "complete contempt" for mankind "but of truth as well" (p. 119). He was possessed with "a craving for power and a lust for revenge" (p. 125). "In his dealings with men he followed the same tactics as a libertine does with women" (p. 126).

Although the *Memoirs and Political Observations* reveal that Von Holstein had a penchant for malicious gossip that hardly befits a man in his powerful position in the German foreign office, they do not support the colorful tales that have been told about him. Von Holstein insists that his only share in the Von Arnim affair was his recommendation that Von Arnim be transferred from the Paris embassy because he was working "for a Bourbon restoration" (p. 95). If Von Holstein became a recluse after his former chief's disgrace, he did so because of his natural desire to work alone and not because his role in Von Arnim's disgrace provoked Berlin society to shun him. Nothing in the memoirs indicates that Von Holstein was the kind of man likely to build up an elaborate file about every prominent German political figure so that he could resort to bribery and blackmail to maintain his power. The reader does not gain the impression that Von Holstein was a sinister figure who deliberately poisoned William II's mind against Bismarck. Certainly the *Memoirs* do not depict Von Holstein as a kind, lovable, fair-minded saint, but they at least raise serious doubts as to his being the Mephistophelean creature described in numerous legends that have grown up about him.

R. John Rath, University of Texas.

Britain Between the Wars, 1918-1940, by Charles L. Mowat. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. 1955. pp. 694. \$6.00.

Within the last generation several scholarly books have appeared dealing with important aspects of recent British history, among which, notably, are those of J. A. Spender, D. C. Somervell, and Keith Hutchinson. Mr. Mowat's volume, however, is the first history specifically undertaking to discuss *all* phases of British life from Versailles to the Second World War. This is a herculean task, and the lurking feeling persists that despite a great many admirable chapters the author has tried unsuccessfully to wrestle with a bear. This is to say, that the attempt to include *all* aspects of British life of this period lends the book an encyclopedic character, an

effect enhanced by the use of biographical footnotes. It seems a pity that the inevitably superficial treatment of British diplomacy, as well as social and literary developments (rayon stockings, Huxley, and the gramophone), could not have been eliminated in favor of a more leisurely treatment of the political scene and the economic realities behind it. What Mr. Mowat has done is to piece together a series of intensive, necessarily telescoped segments treating various features of Britain's internal and external history between the wars. The overall effect is that of a compendium, a piecing-together rather than that of a unified structural whole.

Mowat's underlying thesis has been made before, but never more relentlessly driven home. He argues that between the resignation of Lloyd George and the advent of Churchill as prime minister the government of Britain fell into the hands of the "little men"; that while these two "masters of decision" sat on the side lines the Right-Wing Tories climbed on the bandwagon and sat there "until they had brought the British Empire to the verge of destruction." Excessive caution, hostility to change, continuing inequality of opportunity, appeasement abroad—these were the hallmarks of the Baldwin and Chamberlain governments. Britain under the Tories muddled along with the "hum drum figures," seeking no new blood and contemptuous of a Labor Opposition, which, after MacDonald's defection of 1931, was totally ineffectual. Conceivably, Mr. Mowat may ride this conception a trifle hard. The British political scene of the 1920s-30s does, nevertheless, lend itself to this plausible analysis, and the author's portraits of Baldwin, MacDonald and the others, while hardly flattering, seem real.

Thinking back over this well-documented volume, several memorable items come to mind:

(1) The remarkable affair of the "Zinoviev letter" which contributed heavily to Labor's defeat in 1924. Mowat rightly judges the letter to be a probable fraud. He might have added that the tremendous political advantages of this hoax both to the Stalinists in Russia and the Conservatives in Britain were so great as to inspire a forgery of this sort. The whole business has the unmistakable stamp of G.P.U. machinations.

(2) The ugly picture of Ireland, 1918-1922, in which the outrages of Sinn Féin were incomprehensibly compounded by the Black and Tan hoodlums turned loose on the Irish population. In these pages General Sir Henry Wilson, British Chief of Staff, emerges as a sinister influence.

(3) The General Strike of 1926 in which Stanley Baldwin has the ultimate blame for the crisis laid squarely at his feet. Mr. Mowat explodes the fable that the British nation turned a disgrace into a triumph and that the "ordinary people" rallied to the support of the government. He punctures this myth by demonstrating that "ordinary people" meant the middle class. The strike merely showed that "people who dress like gentlemen will instinctively take sides against people who commonly work with their coats off." The affair provided very little to boast about.

(4) The reader will be impressed with Mr. Mowat's analysis of economic conditions in England in the 1930's. Britain may not have been the scene of the unrelieved misery described by previous writers; but the facts are unpalatable enough. Fifteen to thirty per cent of the population was in poverty or near it. Among one of the most advanced peoples of the world

vast millions were ill-fed, ill-clothed, and abominably housed. The dole, which carried the unemployed, was "ungratefully accepted by those it saved and bitterly condemned by the comfortable classes, who saw in it a symbol of demoralization."

In sum, the author is at his best when he deals with the details of the British economic picture and opens the prospect of further research on proletarian attitudes toward social legislation (or the lack of it) and the ultimate influence of all this on the political scene. Mr. Mowat has not written the "definitive" history of Britain between the wars; he writes too laboriously, too inclusively, too close to the event in point of time. Neither has he written a textbook; the book would certainly prove difficult for the average undergraduate. What we have here, actually, is a first-rate book of reference, solid if not lively, containing bibliographical material pointing the way for further fruitful investigation.

Douglas K. Reading, Colgate University.

The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility, by Sidney Hook. Boston. Beacon Press. pp. xiv, 273. \$1.25.

This book was published originally in hard covers in 1943. Its appearance as an inexpensive "paperback" is welcome, for it has much of interest for the historian. Professor Hook is by professional training a philosopher, in background and temperament secularist. He is in this book temperate and conciliatory and not unworthy of that great term of praise in our profession, "historically minded." *The Hero in History* is in part an effort to show that historical determinism or "historicism" is philosophically untenable—and morally and politically disastrous, since it undermines democratic concepts of human worth. But Professor Hook is equally anxious not to exalt the individual "hero" into anything like the status of the totalitarian *Fuehrer*. His book gains in concreteness and variety what it loses in firmness of systematic structure. Of special interest to historians are the "case-histories" in chapters VII, "If in History," and VIII, "The Contingent and the Unforeseen," and the long case-history of Lenin and the Russian Revolution in chapter X.

Crane Brinton, Harvard University.

AMERICAN

American Political Thought, by Alan P. Grimes. New York. Henry Holt & Co., 1955. pp. 500. \$4.75.

Professor Grimes' work is a welcome addition to the survey literature of American political thought. Well written, copiously documented, and broad yet fairly representative in coverage, his book should appeal to those who are seeking a readable text for the standard course in the political theory of the United States.

The approach employed by the author follows in general the traditional pattern of textbook writing in the field of political theory. Relying primarily on the historical method, the development of social and political thought in America is traced through the writings and utterances of the

major personalities and thinkers on the political scene. There is always the danger inherent in such an approach that the reader may become lost in a maze of historical figures. The author, although treating of some fifty-five different thinkers, seeks to avoid such a pitfall by emphasizing and analyzing major trends and by using the personalities only as evidence for his observations and not as the central focal point of attention. The result, while not entirely satisfactory, is nonetheless adequate to satisfy the purposes for which the book was written.

Objection might be raised to the relative amount of space and emphasis given to the various periods and trends (e.g., the somewhat sketchy treatment of the contemporary scene); yet this is a matter largely of approach and personal judgment upon which reasonable minds might well differ. Two other objections, however, are more pointed. One is the impression the writer gives, perhaps unintentionally, that many of the concepts utilized in American political thought were discovered in the 17th and 18th centuries, whereas they had been fully discussed during the classical and medieval periods. The other is the author's identification of "traditional" natural law with the aberrations that became attached to it in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The present survey once again illustrates how relatively barren American political philosophy is, and how little Americans have contributed to the pure theory of politics. As in the field of the physical sciences, so in that of politics, we have imported much of our theory from abroad and in the process have demonstrated an amazing aptitude for turning it into practical channels. The idea, for example, of constitutionalism or limited government is as old as classical Greece, but it was American ingenuity which gave institutional expression to the concept through the device of written constitutions and judicial review. The fact that such 20th century American works as W. E. Hocking's *Man and the State* and Norman Wilde's *The Ethical Basis of the State* are not discussed in Professor Grimes' text attests to the virtual disregard of pure political theory in this country.

Henry J. Schmandt, Saint Louis University.

The Great Experiment, by Frank Thistlethwaite. New York. Cambridge University. 1955. pp. xiv, 335. \$5.00.

Herein the author, a British scholar who spent some time as a student in the United States, presents "an introduction to the history of the American people," designed to acquaint his countrymen (and, particularly, University undergraduates) with some facets of the American experience and character. In the main, his British-made "mirror of America" shows broad and general scenes with a heavy emphasis on economic factors, though he does give his interpretation of other influences in the sweep of United States history and in the formation of the American character. A most striking feature of this last, to this sympathetic observer's mind, is the great mobility (travelwise and classwise) and sameness of American society due to mass production techniques and to mass education.

This study is finely and smoothly written though, on occasion, marred by the presumably inadvertent use of a pejorative designation (such as "Polack"), or an adjective implying something more than the facts war-rant (such as "ultra-marine" in reference to the American Catholic

Church), or an overlooked typographical error (such as use of "ward-healer" in the description of a typical Irish politician).

Perhaps the most interesting portions of this sympathetic survey are those interpreting the causes of the American Revolution, especially the social and intellectual bases, and the concluding analysis of American democracy.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States, by Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. xvi, 527. \$5.50.

This is the story of the rise of the scholarly ideal and of academic freedom in the United States. Part I, written by Professor Hofstadter, begins with a sketch of academic freedom in Europe since the Middle Ages, and then takes up the story of the development of the American college to the middle of the nineteenth century. Part II, by Professor Metzger, takes up the story with the origin of the American University, and the influences that shaped it: Darwinism, the influence of the German university ideal, the pressure of big business, and national and international politics. That the book is the product of an immense and intelligently conducted research is abundantly testified by the footnotes: books, tracts, contemporary newspapers, correspondence, and private papers have all been used. And where it is impossible to be exhaustive, the authors have taken care to be representative, geographically, politically, ideologically.

Nevertheless, to evaluate this book as history would require another book of at least comparable size. For it is history only in a secondary sense; in the first instance it is a continuous argument in dramatic form. The hero is the scholar (or, alternatively, science) slowly awakening to a consciousness of his nature and his consequent right to submit to no restrictions upon his activity; the principal villain is theology or dogma (not "religion"), assisted by ignorance, lay trustees, social prejudice, big business, political partisanship, and nationalism. But the argument is not over-simplified. The authors point out that some religious leaders at times encouraged, fostered, and even defended a particular phase or stage of academic freedom, that some lay boards worked hard and courageously for it, that some business patrons sincerely advanced it, that often the governmental agencies increased the scope of freedom. Only the main villain, theology, is without blemish in its villainousness; from the preface, where its function is to encroach upon science (p. x), to almost its last mention where religious authority served as a cocoon (p. 366), its influence is uniformly bad. Sectarian or denominational institutions continue to exist "with that hardihood and unconscious tenacity that age imparts to old forms" (p. 361), as "marginal institutions, financially, educationally, intellectually" (p. 363).

Some particular phases of the authors' arguments can be briefly studied. In the first chapter, on the European heritage, the author realizes that it is historically unfair to look for present-day concerns in another age. He even seems to suspect (cf. p. 29) that somehow the difference might be so great as to invalidate the attempted comparison. Yet the medieval strug-

gles, restrictions, condemnations are interpreted as bold, daring, original or restrictive in the authors' own sense of those terms. Somehow, the most "daring pioneers" failed to see the authors' point. They argued the right to seek and express *truth* (cf. p. 58), rather than the right to *speak freely* (cf. also p. 90). The latter is asserted by the authors to be *the* concept of academic freedom (and is argued at length, pp. 363-64), but is assumed throughout to be good.

Another point is the function of competence in the concept of academic freedom (argued, for example, pp. 348-52, 410-11, 480). According to this, only those who have competence may legitimately sit in judgment upon a statement, since it is competence which gives to a statement its scientific respectability. This in practice reduces to a majority opinion of scientists as to what is scientific, of historians as to what is historical, and so on. If this criterion admits all statements which allege themselves to be scientific, it is no criterion at all. If it distinguishes and discriminates, the history of science shows that the majority opinion of scientists at one time has been repudiated by those of another, and this upon occasion upon matters of consequence (for example, the treatment of Pasteur). Or take it the other way: in a recent European publication, the "standing of the author" was alleged in the preface as a reason for not giving references and footnotes. In other words, the criterion of competence may stifle science as well as free it, if it is erected into a theoretical absolute as seems to be done in this book.

An interesting question is raised by some of the authors' findings. In a series of case studies on the restrictive role of big business, the author reveals how certain theses once widely held turn out to be shaky (see especially pp. 421-22, 441-42, 448). Thus, the thesis that big business was the enemy of academic freedom turns out to be a reflection of a particular socio-economic ideology; some of the cases turn out not to be academic freedom cases at all or only partly so, and the author finds enough evidence pointing in the opposite direction to enable him to reject the thesis entirely. This result is due, at least in part, to two causes: one is the different point of view of the author, the other is that many business men today are profoundly and practically convinced of the autonomous value of intellectual pursuits. Similarly, the tension between administration and faculty is not essential, as is shown by the various kinds of existing cooperation (though the author admits this somewhat reluctantly, pp. 487-90). In the light of these changes of thesis, the question naturally rises, Is not the "essential warfare between freedom and theology" also an artifact, an unconsciously prejudiced interpretation?

The authors make much of pluralism and the "principle of fallibilism." They oppose monism. But do they? "In the modern theory, though no conclusion is unchallengeable, the method for arriving at conclusions is prescribed" (p. 364). Actually, three points are involved in this position. (1) All knowledge is of the same kind; its prototype is science, and so all theoretical statements are constructural in character. (2) Theoretical constructs are by their very nature revisable and partial. (3) There is only one method of arriving at conclusions. The first of these statements is the expression of a faulty and defective epistemology, for there are

many kinds of knowledge. The second statement is adequate if it is understood in the light of a pluralism of knowledges. The third statement "prescribes" a monism of method. Contemporary philosophical analysts, in their efforts to make "statements" like this come out, have more or less decided that their meaning is, "We arbitrarily rule that this is the procedure to be followed." This may be freedom, but is it in any sense intellectual?

This question raises in the mind of the reviewer a final, basic question. The attitude that man has a right to truth, to search for it, to try to express and communicate it, with the concomitant right to fall into honest error, appears to be an approach to the problem that could be characterized as "intellectualist." It places the maximum value on the function of intellect and the attaining of truth. On the other hand, the attitude that a man has a right to question and to assert his opinions, on the supposition that no one can be sure that he is right, or perhaps even on the supposition that "truth" is only a relatively better opinion, with the extrinsic limitation of "competence" and approved method, seems to be basically a "voluntarist" approach. It places the maximum value in autonomy, or independence, and so ultimately in will. This seems to be where the basic issue is joined.

George P. Klubertanz, Saint Louis University.

Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age, by John William Ward. New York. Oxford University Press. 1955. pp. xii, 274. \$4.75.

For nearly three hundred pages the author of this work essays to show that the early nineteenth century years were not the age of Jackson, but that he was simply the symbol of those early formative times. "The age was not his. He was the age's." Taking his cue from Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* he plays the theme over and over (including a section he calls "Coda") that Jackson represented the honest, pure-as-nature frontiersman, unsullied by the influences of an effete Europe and that he mirrored America.

Beginning with the Battle of New Orleans Dr. Ward carries his discussion forward to illustrate how Jackson's followers employed the "all-American boy" technique to elevate him to the Presidency. His supporters tried to attach him to the soil by calling him another Cincinnatus who had dropped the plow to take up the sword against the enemy. Jackson's opponents violently objected. To call him a dirt farmer, or any kind of a farmer, was to them ludicrous. But Jackson, as a westerner and a man who had lived in an area presumably closer to nature, pure and incorruptible, was big medicine politically, and his followers never lost an opportunity to make the allusion.

Those who supported Jackson for public office admitted that he had no specialized training and he certainly could not qualify for some of the cabinet posts. But this lack of particularized preparation did him more good than harm. His ability as a leader, endowed with an understanding of men, meant to his admirers that he was better prepared for the Presidency than for any other position. His leadership had been demonstrated to them during his military days. He had always fulfilled the democratic ideal of leading his men and yet remaining one of them by sharing their hardships and privations. A true westerner, he was not only a man of action but one who was ready to disobey an order when he thought he

was right. His soldiers, of course, though loyal to him were also unfettered by any European type of discipline; as simple sons of nature their fighting and shooting capacities were a part of their birthright.

So successful were Jackson's followers in portraying him as a son of nature that in 1840 the Whigs were obliged to don coonskin caps, take to the political woods and plug for Harrison, the "Ohio Ploughman." Their log cabin campaign paid off to the extent that its characteristics became a standard for American political campaigns. If one could be born of "poor but honest parents," preferably in a log cabin, he had some political assets going into the game.

The author has scraped the bottom of the barrel for allusions to Jackson as the son of the western wilderness. With them he has forged his argument that his man was the symbol of an age. It was a difficult task. Few, if any, men symbolize all the complexities of their time. It is true that by Jackson's time there was a sufficient stratification in American society to cause part of it to be self-conscious, hence much loud talk about "sons of the soil." His lightly equipped "irregulars" in the field had little military tradition or sartorial splendor upon which to lean; it was not unnatural that they boasted of what they had: their marksmanship—and even this has been overplayed. With regard to the "nearness to nature" theme, the westerners simply lived in a rurality that their eastern neighbors no longer knew as they once had, in a Cooperian age that suddenly began to realize the East and West were now at different stages of development. They would outgrow it. Was Jackson a symbol for this age? He symbolized a sprawling, rural part of the nation that was self-conscious about its comparative position in the Republic. America itself stood in much that same light in the brotherhood of nations and perhaps here Jackson, the westerner, symbolized his people.

Robert G. Athearn, University of Colorado.

The American Legion and American Foreign Policy, by Roscoe Baker.
New York. Bookman Associates. 1954. pp. 329. \$4.75.

This is a chronicle of the American Legion's crusades against the world (immigration), the flesh (indifference and/or ignorance of Americans to their rights and duties) and the devil (Russian Communism) and campaigns for the promotion of patriotism and national defense, development of inter-American goodneighborliness, and qualified support of international organizations. It is a record, rather than an analysis, of the Legion's organization, purposes national (e.g., veterans' benefits) and international, power, strategy and tactics as a lobbying force, positions on important foreign policy issues, successes and failures in the achievement of its objectives, and the sometimes disagreement of commanders and the rank and file (e.g., over between-wars neutrality). For those who agree or disagree with Legion attitudes herein will be found compact evidence for debate and rebuttal.

The sources used (as indicated in an appendix, partially annotated bibliography and notes) range from official Legion statements, through Congressional documents to contemporary periodical and newspaper comment.

Martin F. Hastings, Saint Louis University.

John Carroll of Baltimore, by Annabelle M. Melville. New York. Scribners. 1955. pp. 287. \$4.50.

In her preface the author of this biography states that she is not presuming to write either a definitive work, or a revision of the old larger work of Peter Guilday's *Life and Times of John Carroll*. The aim of the present presentation is to reveal the man in all his "subtlety, probity, and warmth of character, and of estimating his peculiar contribution to the . . . Catholic Church in the United States." The book must be read with these aims in mind to be fully appreciated and accurately evaluated. Over all it is a well written biography and does real justice to the subject. There are some scholars who will object to the occasional use of imagination—but this is an essential to every biographer, and a legitimate tool of scholarship. When imagination is employed in this book, it is always based on excellent sources. Perhaps the one difficulty of Carroll's life not fully understood by the author was his peculiar relationship to the old time ex-Jesuits of the Maryland mission. It must be remembered that Carroll's life as a Jesuit was spent in Europe. There was also a very definite division of opinion as to the proper work to be taken up by the priests of Maryland. Later on this becomes very evident in the two schools of thought as to whether they should remain in Maryland and continue as "gentleman farmers" or should take up the burden in the rapidly growing cities. Carroll was for the cities, and a glance at the work of the Jesuits in America today will show how right he was. This book performs a good service to Church historiography in the United States, but it by no means exhausts the topic of Carroll and his administration as a field of further research.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

Great Britain and the United States, by H. C. Allen. New York. St. Martin's Press. 1955. pp. 1024. \$10.00.

"Two main themes," according to the author, "dominate the history of Anglo-American relations:" an "increasing amiability" and a "shifting balance of power," from British to American relative preponderance. The first became evident by the end of the nineteenth century; the second is older, its origins dating from the American Civil War. Both reached maturity with World War I.

In exploring these themes through over a thousand pages, Professor Allen surveys the economic, political, social and cultural factors involved and traces the formal history of Anglo-American relations from 1783 to 1952. The burden of the book is to show that Anglo-American relationships were not so bad after all, that they were founded on deeper and wider bases than selfish interests (or, in recent times, on collective distrust of Russia), and that there is a real mutual need for continuing cooperation. As a consequence there is a tendency, on occasion, to touch lightly on areas of historic conflict and to concentrate on areas of agreement.

By intent the volume is not meant to be a product of original research but, rather, a survey, particularly reliant on secondary sources, covering the sweep and rhythm of Anglo-American relationships, its purpose is comprehensive rather than profound. And as such it is a commendable product.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. An asterisk denotes a review of the book in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

MEDIEVAL

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AMERICAN

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